The Beaver

A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY Hudson's Bay Company. OUTFIT 280 SEPT. 1949

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

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ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

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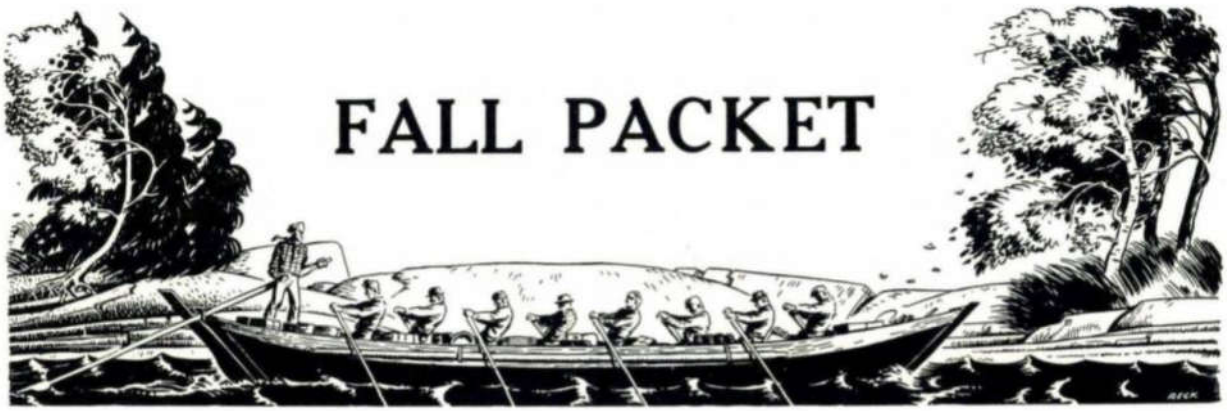

FALL PACKET

"Honourable Company"

Shortly before this last form of the *Beaver* went to press, some advance copies of the new *Honourable Company*, arrived in Winnipeg. This is the second edition of the excellent short history of the Hudson's Bay Company written by Douglas MacKay, and now ably revised and brought up to date by Mrs. MacKay. McClelland & Stewart of Toronto are the publishers and the volume will appear in the book stores on September 15. There is neither time nor space in this *Beaver* for a review worthy of the book: until that can be printed, this short notice must suffice.

The reader familiar with the first (1936) edition, who picks up the book and glances through it will at once notice an improvement in the pictures. They are mostly larger, better printed, and relate more closely to the text. Exploring further, he will see that Mrs. MacKay has considerably extended the final chapter, "This Century," to bring it up to date, and added some information to the appendices. Only the close student of the subject, perhaps, will note that research done since 1936 has enabled a number of minor misstatements appearing in the first edition to be corrected. The old jacket and end papers, splendidly drawn by William Winter, have fortunately been used again.

Mrs. MacKay, in her extension of the last chapter, deals with the Hudson's Bay Record Society, financial developments, personnel policies, the new (since 1936) Interior Stores, the new subsidiaries, the Company's role in World War II, and the difference modern transportation and communication and scientific research have made to the long established fur trade. And by weaving in the new with the old, the pattern has been evenly maintained.

The appearance of this second edition will be welcomed by everyone who wants a readable, reliable history of the Hudson's Bay Company. Douglas MacKay knew the modern Company well, had studied its past for years, and was blest with a gifted pen. Historical writing so often belongs to either one of two categories—the accurate and dull, and the inaccurate and readable. But the author of the *Honourable Company* had the rare knack of combining accuracy with readability.

One paragraph from his book sums it up admirably. In reality it refers to the work being done on the Company's history by reputable historians in the London archives: but it is just as applicable to his own book:

"As orderly scholarship assembles the pattern of the past, the fabric of history appears. Here and there the thread is broken; now and then there is a stain; but it is . . . a long and honest piece, and every thread is a story of men and their money, their ships, their guns, their women and children, their furs, their ambitions, failures, their courage and cowardice, all in the service of a great Company."

Contributors

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CENTENARY OF A DIOCESE

by Harry Shave

In 1849 the Anglican Diocese of Rupert's Land was created, and the first Bishop arrived at Red River.

St. Andrew's, which the first bishop planned to make his cathedral church, also celebrates its centenary this year. This photo was taken by H. S. Hime in 1858. ***Public Archives of Canada.***

TOWARDS the end of May, one hundred years ago, Canterbury Cathedral was the scene of an unusual ceremony—the consecration of the first bishop of Rupert's Land. Not since the days of Queen Elizabeth had such a rite been performed beneath the lofty arches of that historic shrine, and never in history had any bishop consecrated there been entrusted with a diocese of such vast extent. Only a week before, the diocese had been created by royal charter signed by the Queen, and the Right Reverend David Anderson had received the appointment as its first bishop.

That appointment was the culmination of a long series of events which had begun with the emigration from Scotland of the first Selkirk Settlers for Red River. In 1811, before they had left their native land, Lord Selkirk had promised they would have a clergyman to minister to their spiritual needs; but when, six years later, his Lordship visited them in their new home, they were still without a religious leader.

It was in July of that year that he called them together at a spot a few yards south of the present St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg. Among the group were Alex McBeath, an old soldier of the 73rd Regiment in Scotland, and his son John. Alex McBeath had settled on lot No. 3, now occupied in part by St. John's Park in the city of Winnipeg. His son had taken the next lot north (No. 4), where the settlers had established a burying ground. Lord Selkirk here reiterated his promise of a Presbyterian minister. According to an affidavit taken some years later by five of the settlers who were present at this meeting, Selkirk had said to the McBeaths, "Of these two lots I intend granting the former for your church, as you have already formed a churchyard on it, and the latter for a school, if you will give them up for that use, in lieu of two other lots which I shall give you, in any place you may select." The McBeaths willingly agreed. His Lordship then went on to say: "You shall have your minister; nothing but the troubles in the country prevented Mr. Sage from being here before now." The affidavit further states that upon Selkirk's return to Canada, he ordered his agent, John Pritchard of Red River, to engage and forward a Presbyterian minister without delay. This apparently was not done; Lord Selkirk, after returning to Europe, had to go to France for his health, and there he died in 1820, before any arrangement had been made to fulfil his promise of a minister for the Scottish colonists.

During these years, and even before the arrival of the first Selkirk settlers at Red River, the Hudson's Bay Company had been carrying on negotiations for a minister. They wanted a chaplain of their own, to minister to the families at their trading posts, and to the Indians. The Church Missionary Society of England was approached in 1810, and again in 1819, without result. Their next proposal was in 1820. This met with more definite results. Volume 1 of the history of the C.M.S. states:

> In 1820, the Rev. John West, Curate of White Roding, Essex, and active member of the Society, was appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company, chaplain to their settlement on Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg. He laid before the C.M.S. committee a proposal for establishing schools for the Indian children in that district; and they voted £100 to assist him in this scheme. In the following year, he wrote proposing a regular mission; and two members of the Board of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Nicholas Garry and Mr. Benjamin Harrison, attended the committee to support the application. The result was the appointment of Mr. West himself to superintend the mission, of a schoolmaster to work under him, and subsequently, one of the Society's students, David T. Jones, to be an additional missionary; and the voting of £800 a year to cover expenses.

Needless to say, the Hudson's Bay Company generously assisted the C.M.S. in their undertaking. Thus, through the instrumentality of the Company of Adventurers, the Anglican Communion was brought to Western Canada, Rev. John West arrived at Red River in October, 1820, and the first Protestant church in the west was erected there in 1822.

For about two years, Mr. West made his headquarters, first at Fort Douglas, then at Fort Gibraltar (later named Fort Garry). He travelled extensively, visiting many of the Company's posts, where he preached to the employees and to the Indians, married couples, and baptised children and adults. His ministrations were not confined to those for whom the Company felt they had a definite responsibility. Much of his time while in the Red River Settlement was

devoted to the welfare of the Scottish and other settlers. Many of them came to him to be married, or to have their children baptised. Some, but not all, attended services at his church—"The Church Mission House." The Scottish settlers were largely a deeply religious people, but they objected to the Church of England form of service. Mr. West declined to depart from the ritual, but the missionaries who followed him met the preferences of the Scottish settlers by eliminating portions of the Anglican ceremonial from their services.

The church registers of those early missionaries contain much of interest concerning the people of that period—the first marriage ever performed by a Protestant clergyman in Western Canada took place on September 9, 1820, at the Rock Depot on the Hill (now Hayes) River. The participants were Thomas Bunn and Phoebe Sinclair. The witnesses who signed the marriage register were Wm. Laidlaw, A. MacDonald, (H B C men); Thos. Alley(late of Guernsey); and Geo. Harbidge, who came out with Mr. West as school teacher. After retiring to Red River, the Bunns became actively connected with West's church. Mrs. Bunn died in 1848 and her husband in 1853. They were buried in St. John's churchyard where a headstone of English slate still marks their grave.

John West found his services much in demand at Red River. Shortly after he arrived, Governor George Simpson in a letter to England reported that

> Red River at present, I am sorry to say, assumes more the appearance of a receptacle for free booters and infamous characters of all descriptions, than a well regulated colony, there is no law and order or regularity, every man his own master and the strongest and most desperate is the one who succeeds best. Mr. West does all in his power (and his exertions are truly meritorious) to improve the morals of the people but with little success, on the contrary their habits are vicious. They have not exactly committed murder or robbery but the next thing to it and frequently threaten both so that the well disposed feel themselves in continual danger.

According to Mr. West's journal, "The Indians have been greatly corrupted in their simple and barbarous manners by their intercourse with Europeans, many of whom have borne scarcely any other mark of Christian character than the name."

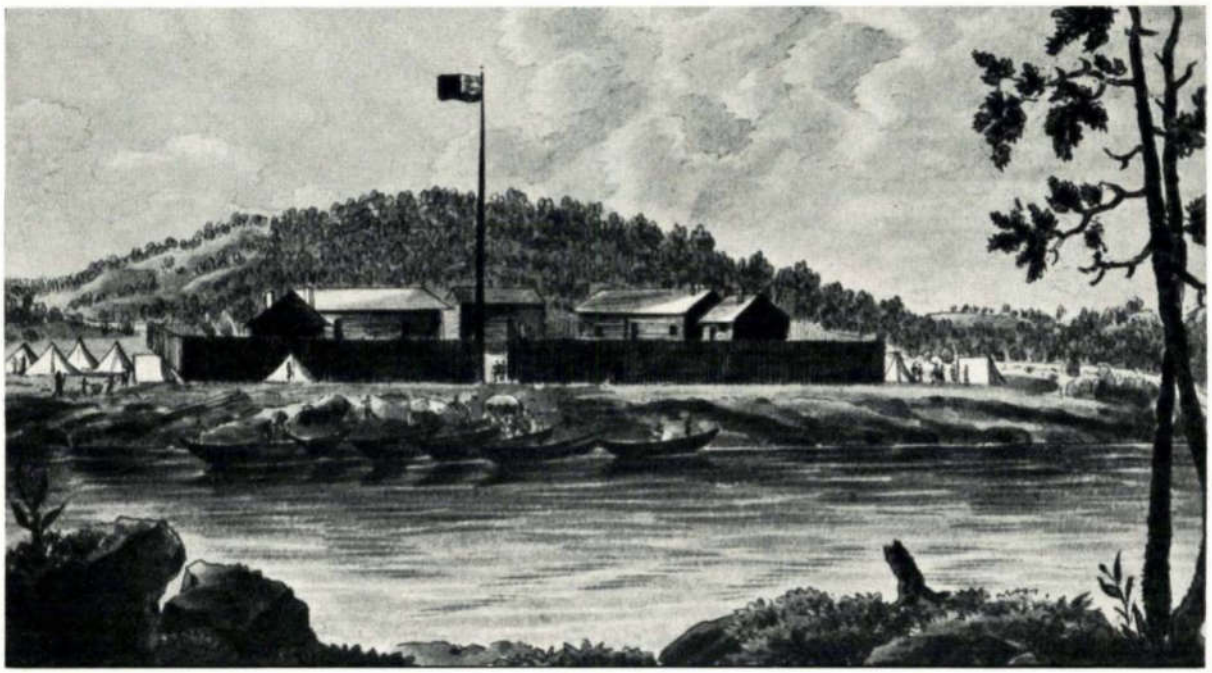
Nicholas Garry, while stating that West was not a good preacher, conceded that he had done much good, persuading the factors and others to have their marriages solemnized, and forming a strong branch of the Bible Society. At the inaugural meeting of the latter, Garry presided as chairman, and contributed 50 pounds in the name of the Company, to help defray expenses.

West left the settlement in June 1823, never to return. At York Factory in August, after a side trip to Churchill to meet some Eskimos, he spent three weeks in consultation with Rev. David Jones, who had come over to succeed him, and in September he sailed for England.

David Jones proved to be much more of an all round success than his predecessor. In a new country, where freedom and informality were found on every hand, he did not feel it necessary to adhere strictly to the Church of England forms of service. Alexander Ross, the early western historian, tells in his book *Red River Settlement* of Jones's liberal mindedness towards the Scots:

> He became extremely kind and indulgent to them, and among other things laid aside such parts of the liturgy and formula of the Episcopalian Church as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers. He also held prayer-meetings among them, after the manner of their own church, without using the prayer book at all, which raised him higher than ever in their estimation, especially as they understood that he could only do so at the hazard of forfeiting his gown. His own words were "I know I am doing good; and as long as I can do good to souls, the technical forms of this or that church will not prevent me." Mr. Jones was a fine and eloquent preacher; tender hearted, kind, and liberal to a fault. And so popular was he on account of the last mentioned trait in his character, that he was all but idolized in Red River.

Rock Depot, where the first marriage performed by a Protestant clergyman in western Canada took place in September 1820. From a sketch by Rindisbacher made a year later. ***Public Archives of Canada.***



It was but a short time before the little church was over-crowded at every service. Instead of extending the church building, Jones decided to build another church at Image Plain (Middlechurch) and to hold services there as well, so as to accommodate those who had a considerable distance to travel to the Church Mission House. This second church was opened in January 1825.

In the autumn of that year, Rev. Wm. Cockran came out, as had Mr. Jones, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company. Then for a time each of the two churches had its own minister. This happy condition did not last long, however. Mr. Cockran, who in later years became famous as a builder of churches along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, established himself at St. Andrews in 1829 and there built a log church. This building was one of the forerunners of the stone building, erected one hundred years ago, which has become so famous as a Red River landmark.

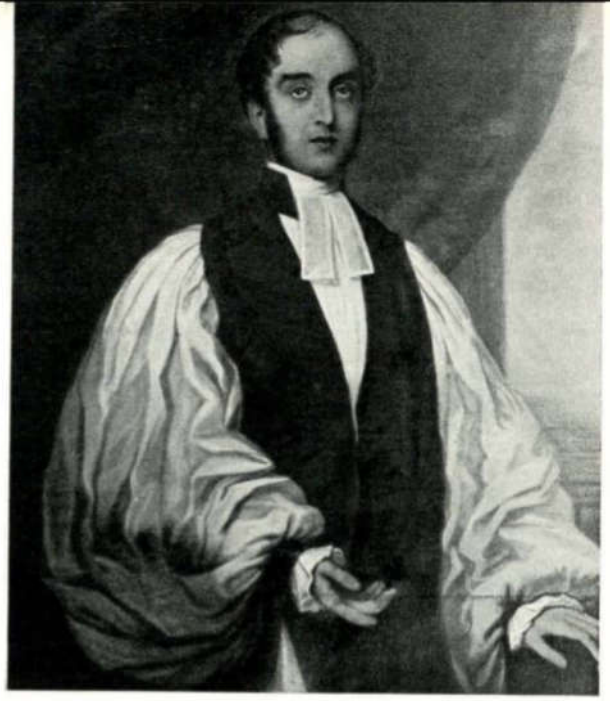
Space will not permit an adequate description of the various missionaries and their accomplishments in what is now the Diocese of Rupert's Land. But wherever they went and whatever they built for the general welfare of the people, the Company of Adventurers were at their side, aiding them with grants of money, supplies and transportation.

In the early days of the fur trade, James Leith, a native of Aberdeenshire, was prominently identified, first with the North West Company, but from 1821 until 1831 as a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. During his years of service he had amassed considerable wealth, but had a keen sense of responsibility for the welfare of the Indians. At the time of his death at Torquay, England, where he had been living retired for seven years, it was found that he had bequeathed one half of his entire estate for "establishing, propagating and extending the Christian Protestant Religion in and amongst the native Aboriginal Indians in that part of America formerly called 'Rupert's Land'."

The relatives of Mr. Leith protested the will. After having been taken through the various processes of law, the matter was finally brought before the Court of Chancery in March, 1849, where a final decision was made by Lord Langdale. Negotiations had been under way since 1844, between Bishop G. J. Mountain of Montreal, the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in London, whereby ways and means might be found for the setting up of a bishopric in Rupert's Land. Bishop Mountain had visited the Red River Settlement in 1844, covering the arduous twelve hundred mile journey overland by canoe and on foot. He remained at Red River for about three weeks, carrying out various episcopal duties, and his observations while there prompted him to begin the negotiations. The Hudson's Bay Company had offered the sum of £300 sterling annually, in perpetuity, towards a bishop's stipend, providing a bishopric were established in Rupert's Land, and in view of this, the court ruled that the Leith bequest, amounting to £11,978, 8s 8d, be set aside as an endowment for such an establishment.

The bishopric was thus firmly founded, and each year for the past century the Hudson's Bay Company has contributed £300 towards the bishop's stipend.

The new bishop, David Anderson, had been born in Hans Place, London, on February 10, 1814. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and at Exeter College, Oxford, he received his B.A. in 1836 and M.A. in 1838. In 1837 he was ordained deacon and the following year received priest's orders. From 1837 to 1847 he was vice-principal of St. Bee's College, Cumberland, England. During the next two years he was curate of All Saint's Church in Derby, England. When he left England for his new see in Rupert's Land, he was accompanied by his sister, his three sons, Rev. R. and Mrs. Hunt, and Mr. J. Chapman. His wife, the former Miss Marsden, had died in 1848, after a happy married life of only seven years.



Rt. Rev. David Anderson, first bishop of Rupert's Land, was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral.
St. John's College.

The Hudson's Bay Company ship *Prince Rupert*, bringing the Anderson family to their new home, docked at York Factory on August 16, 1849. Before leaving the ship, at the request of the bishop, the captain assembled all hands on deck. The doxology was sung, a prayer offered and the benediction pronounced by his Lordship. They remained at York Factory for ten days before leaving in canoes for Red River. Travelling up the Hayes River and down Lake Winnipeg, they arrived at the Lower Church (St. Andrews) in October 1849. A new stone church was in course of construction at that point, and the bishop had contemplated making it his cathedral church. But owing to the rather sudden and unexpected death of Rev. John Macallum on the very day the bishop entered Red River, his Lordship decided to take charge of the Upper Church (now St. John) and schools. Mr. Macallum had been conducting the school known as Red River Academy, as well as carrying out his ministerial duties. There was also in operation here the St. Cross school for girls.

Thus with the Upper Church as his cathedral, the bishop was religious leader of the Anglican Communion in a diocese extending from eastern Canada to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and from the international boundary to the Arctic.

Bishop Mountain had suggested that it would be unwise to try and break up the unity of the Red River Settlement, which then consisted quite largely of Scotch Presbyterians and their descendants. The missionaries had made concessions, so that the new bishop would "require a very prudent, moderate and

cautious course of proceeding." It seems that Bishop Anderson for a time followed this advice, but by the time of the arrival of Rev. John Black, the Presbyterian minister, in 1851, the regular Church of England service was in vogue at the Upper Church (formerly known as Red River Church). This greatly displeased the Presbyterian section of the congregation, and as soon as the construction of their own church in Kildonan had been completed, they transferred en masse to the new "kirk."

All had not been smooth sailing before the site for the new Presbyterian Church had been established. After the arrival of their own minister, an event they had hoped and worked for since 1812, they contested the right of the Anglicans to continue in possession of the Upper Church. Much discussion took place, culminating in the famous old Company coming to the rescue by offering to give the Scottish settlers a glebe of land for church and school, and assist them with a grant of £150 for the erection of suitable buildings. This offer was accepted and work proceeded immediately.

The first church at which Bishop Anderson preached after his arrival was the Lower (St. Andrews) Church. The now famous old stone church was not quite completed. It was consecrated by the bishop, December 19, 1849. In May of the following year he confirmed four hundred candidates there.

After Bishop Anderson's arrival in the settlement, he took up residence in the parsonage, formerly occupied by Reverend John Macallum, and gave it the title "Bishop's Court." The house was an old one, consisting of two wings and a central hall, with kitchens projecting behind.

After the flood of 1852—the chief record of which is Bishop Anderson's book—old "Bishop's Court" became almost uninhabitable, and in 1854 the large residence of Recorder Adam Thom was purchased. This was one of the finest residences in the settlement at the time. Its construction had been started in 1843 by Chief Factor John Charles, whose intention was to live there after retiring from active service with the Company. He had married a sister of Reverend John Macallum, and they journeyed to Scotland for their honeymoon, but never returned to Red River. Adam Thom then purchased and completed the building. This famous old house continued as Bishop's Court after Bishop Anderson's retirement in 1864. It was occupied by his successor, Archbishop Robert Machray, for a further period of almost forty years.

A glimpse into the work of the Church of England in Rupert's Land during the first bishop's incumbency is found in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which in 1857 enquired into conditions in the territories of the Company. The bishop was called before the committee to give evidence, and his answers throw much light on the problems of that day and on the assistance rendered the Church by the secular authorities. At the enquiry, it transpired that the Company, in addition to the grant of £300 towards his stipend, was donating £100 a year towards the Red River schools, and was also building churches at Moose and York factories. In all they were contributing about £1,000 in cash towards the work being carried on by the various religious denominations in what is now western Canada.

Bishop Anderson resigned his see on October 6, 1864, and returned to England. Here he was appointed chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, a title he retained until his death. He was also vicar of Clifton, Bristol, until 1878, when illness forced his retirement. He died on November 5, 1885, in the seventy-second year of his age, the forty-ninth of his ministry, and the thirty-seventh of his episcopate.

This engraving of the first "Bishop's Court" forms the frontispiece to Bishop Anderson's *Notes of the Flood*.

THELEWEY-AZA-YETH

In searching for the headwaters of the Thelon River, the author explored and mapped much new country, including the vicinity of Hearne's Thelewey-aza-yeth.

by Guy H. Blanchet

Editorial Note: The following article was not written as a commentary on J. Tuzo Wilson's New Light on Hearne, *appearing in the June* Beaver. *It was done quite independently, and happened to arrive in the* Beaver *office during the same week as Dr. Wilson's. It was judged best to run the latter first, and Mr. Blanchet's in the following issue together with his comments on Dr. Wilson's theories about Hearne's routes. These will be found at the end of this article.*

MORE than one hundred and seventy-five years have passed since Samuel Hearne made his great overland journey to the Arctic Ocean and back. Explorations and surveys have been extended into the North until few important features remain unmapped. Recently aerial surveys have filled in the smaller blank spaces with details. As knowledge of the country has been expanded, one by one, features recorded by Hearne on his map or in his narrative have been identified. It is now possible to draw the two great courses of his route crossing features that he described. These are seen to be, like all great "Indian roads," established through many years of travel across country of which they knew every detail, the most direct and the most feasible for their means of transport.

From Fort Churchill westerly there was the Carrier Road by which natives of the Athabaska District brought their furs to Fort Churchill. There was also a "highway" of travel northwesterly to the country of the Copper Indians, passing about the east end of Great Slave Lake. These two roads intersected at Hearne's Thelewey-aza-yeth, "Little Fish Hill" Lake.

There are two recorded interpretations of Hearne's route. In 1835 Dr. Richardson, who had been with Franklin on his Arctic journeys, and who knew the northern portion of Hearne's travel, made a shrewd adjustment of positions and a fair interpretation of his route. Tyrrell's exploration of the Dubawnt in 1893 identified points on the eastern end. There remained a gap between these and its most important point was Thelewey-aza-yeth, the lake at which the great roads intersected—the east-west carrier road and the northerly route to the Barren Grounds.

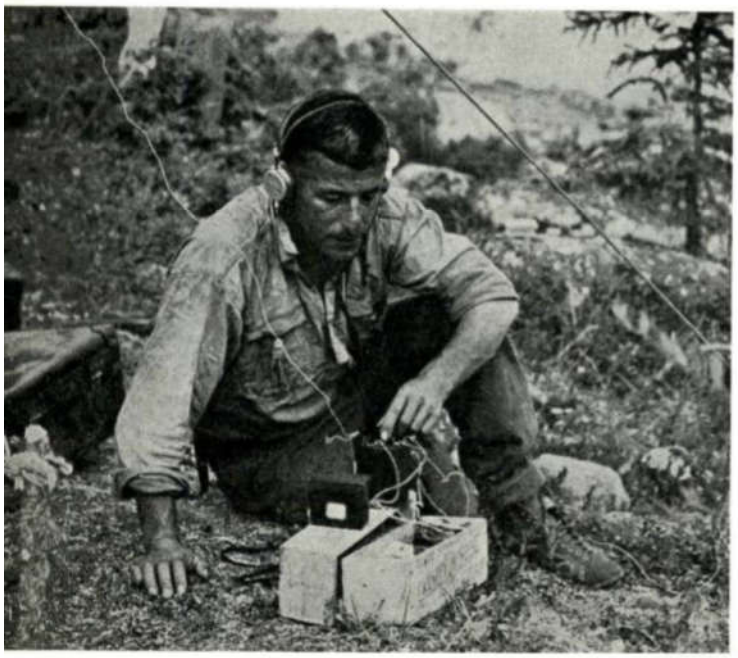
Thelewey-aza-yeth is a small unimportant lake in a country abounding in lakes. Its identification might be only a matter of academic interest except that its locality is significant in interpreting Hearne's journey, and in defining the drainage of the country, where the headwaters of a number of rivers divide flowing to Great Slave Lake, to Lake Athabaska and to Hudson Bay.

Prior to 1925, little was known of the country lying between Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabaska, east of Slave River, an area of some fifty thousand square miles. Hearne made two crossings of it, going north and returning east. Tyrrell gave it an eastern boundary by his exploration of Dubawnt River. Camsell's survey of Tazin and lower Taltson Rivers revealed the nature of the west borderland. It was known that the country rose abruptly from the two lakes to a high plateau. The Indians who dwell there reach it by obscure portage routes of small lakes. They do not follow the large turbulent rivers. In the old days of Indian "wars," weaker tribes found refuge on the plateau. When the natives left the great waters they vanished into the unknown. They had no permanent gathering places and no trading posts were ever maintained in the interior. At certain seasons, the natives brought their furs to the forts on the bordering waters, secured supplies and returned to their own country.

This was the picture as far as it could be gathered before I undertook the exploration of the plateau in 1925. Information gathered from the natives assisted in planning routes to follow. It can usually be assumed that the Hudson Bay divide has an elevation of about 1300 feet. This holds from Northern Quebec to the sub-Arctics. It is also usual to find many large lakes on the broad summit of the height of land. The traveller has a general idea of what lies ahead by noting his elevation.

The exploration of this district was probably the last of such expeditions to be made by the old method of paddle and tump line. There is now a royal road for exploration—the aeroplane. By this, rapids and portage, mountain and valley are ignored. The country is mapped by the aerial camera in swift flights and living conditions for men engaged are those of well

The author observes longitude by means of a small portable wireless.



"We waded and hauled the canoe up most of the rapids." A scene on the swift and shallow Abitau.

established bases. When it is planned to go far by canoe, on the other hand, one must travel light and depend largely on rifle and net for food. While the view is limited to the valley of the waterway, there is an intimate association with the details of the country. Much is gained by the wide view of the aerial camera but something is lost, matters which are important to those who dwell there.

The first year's exploration (which will be dealt with in a later article) took us from Fort Fitzgerald across to the Taltson and up that river to Nonachoh and Eileen Lakes, then along the Snowdrift River to Great Slave Lake, in an unsuccessful search for the headwaters of the Thelon. In 1926 we planned to continue our search through a little-known region farther east.

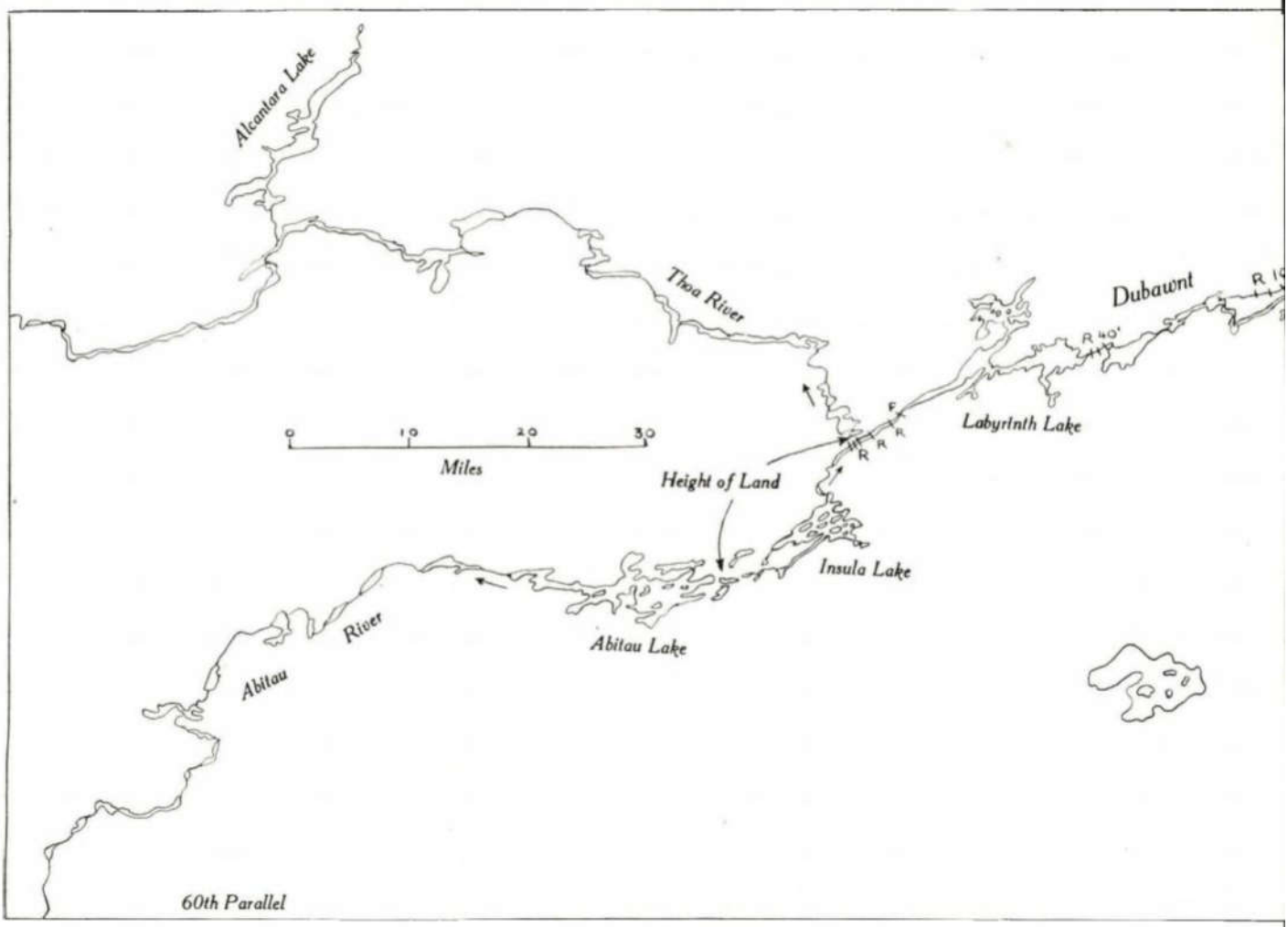
It seemed probable that this country could best be reached from Lake Athabaska. From Indians at Chipewyan and Fond du Lac—at either end of the lake—I gathered what information I could about the route. They had been accustomed from the earliest time to hunt caribou in the interior country to the north. Their usual route was that explored by Tyrrell from the east end of the lake to Wholdaia Lake. There was another one by Grease River, but from what I could gather it did not go far as a canoe route. A third one was described by a woman at Fond du Lac. This was from Tazin Lake up a stream which she called "Skin of an Animal," and from the top of this another river could be reached which she called Thelow. When I asked the meaning of this word she said it meant "Top of the Head." It may be that Thelon or Thelow both mean headwaters and may be applied to many streams, hence the confusion about this river. I decided to try this route partly because starting at Tazin Lake with an elevation of 1130 feet there should not be much of a climb to the plateau level, only some 200 feet. The Indians had not said much about lakes except a large one at the headwaters.

We used the same organization as on the previous year, a nineteen-foot canoe and a party of four men, and again depended largely on living off the country.

Tazin Lake was reached by heavy portages and we found our river entering from the north, half way down the lake. The cumbersome name, Edza thelco (skin of an animal), was changed to Abitau (Halfway). It was disappointingly small, and for twenty-five miles it meandered across a sand plain with scattered rocky hummocks. A good lift in a fifty-foot cascade marked the start of the climb, but this was the last favourable feature on this miserable river. Rapid succeeded rapid, swift, shallow, and with great boulders. Faint portages soon faded out, showing that the Indians did not use the river for summer travel. There were a few small ponds but these did not assist travel nor did they provide fish. The season was wet and stormy and the mosquitoes and black flies hounded us. We waded and hauled the canoe up most of the rapids, and through it all our progress was slow. We were wet most of the time and only got relief from the flies at night.

We reached and passed the 1300-foot level and still continued the climb, past the 1400, the 1500, the 1600. At 1700 I noted that we had passed forty-seven rapids, and that the river was becoming very small. Portaging was difficult through the thick scrubby spruce which reached the water's edge, hauling was bad on account of the great boulders that filled the channel. At forks in the river it was not easy to decide which branch to take. Several times we had to retrace our laborious way.

When we approached 1800 feet the river had become almost unnavigable. I made an overland exploration, circling north then east. The country was flat and featureless with headwater characteristics, floating bog, ponds with no outlets. After hours of travel I reached a lake with more definite shores. A channel led from its east end to another lake and in that there was a slight current easterly. I followed past several



A tracing from a 1948 aerial map of the waterways described in this article. In the lower part, on the right of the arrow, is an enlarged tracing (with its own scale) of the northern part of Labyrinth Lake. The chevrons denote the esker which may be Hearne's "high hill which stands on a long point near the west end of the Lake." On the left of the arrow is a copy of

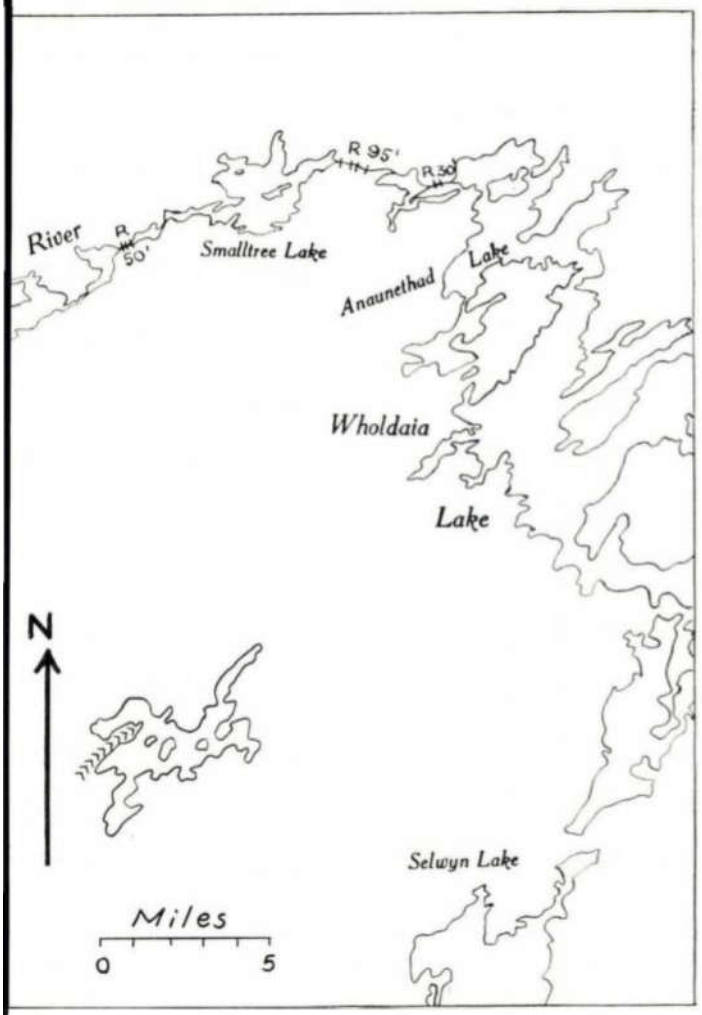
small lakes until the discharging stream had developed into a rapid brook falling away eastward, headed for Hudson Bay. The height of land had been crossed! I continued the circle southward and reached the large lake of which the Indians had told me, which was the main source of Abitau River.

Here at last we were on the top. It was evident from our elevation and from the country we had travelled that Abitau Lake lay on the summit of one of the great moraines left by the retreating glaciers. There would be streams flowing from it in all directions. It was a delight to paddle again on a large lake and to be able to see for great distances. And after all the boulder and tundra country it was a pleasure to come upon wide sandy beaches. Here, too, evidence of Indian life reappeared in many old teepees and much cutting. The shores of the lake are low and the small spruce scarcely pierce the skyline, which was unbroken by any hill. The stream which we had found flowing easterly was some distance to the north, but at the east end of the lake, where there were the remains of many encampments, we found a well marked portage trail which led by several small lakes to a large one discharging to the northeast. We named this "Island Lake," (since changed to Insula) from the islands which are a feature of it.

We were in the vicinity of Hearne's Thelewey-aza-yeth, which might be one of a dozen lakes in the district. But Hearne's lake had a characteristic that I do not think could be duplicated in this height of land country. He noted "plenty of good birch," and this in country not far from the Barren Grounds and in which even the black spruce was thinning to clumps and many of the hill tops were bare. Our rapid descent from the height of land had been marked by country heavily eroded, deep valleys gave shelter and alluvial soil supported trees far beyond their accepted limit—large birch, white spruce and cottonwood. There was cutting of all ages. On the islands and beaches were the remains of many camps, and on the shores at several places we saw the remains of birch-bark canoes, one with a spruce tree growing through it. The mute evidence of the past leads to speculation as to what had happened to the people. A large well built canoe was a valuable possession. Had the people starved? Or had the caribou hunt carried them so far that they had returned by some other road?

Our new river leading out of Insula Lake gathered power rapidly; so much so that we were nearly carried over a forty-foot fall, entering a canyon without previous inspection. Our first large lake we called Labyrinth after spending two days searching for an outlet. At the extremity of a north arm a high hill offered a vantage point to study the country. I climbed it, and on its bare rocky summit I found fragments of a mirror. Who could have brought a mirror to this remote spot, unless Hearne had also used this vantage point for observation?*

Our descent was quite different from the climb by the Abitau. A succession of lakes were joined by short



Hearne's map of Thelewey-aza-yeth, where he stayed ten days and had time to map the lake more accurately than usual. Note the similarity to the northwest part of Labyrinth Lake.

stretches of river in which large drops were made by heavy rapids. We could usually line down the rapids and lake travel was easy and interesting. To reach known Thelon waters we should have to make considerable northing, while our course, which at first was northeast, kept bearing more and more to the east. For seventy-five miles there was still a possibility of the waterway leading northwards, but beyond Smalltree Lake a sharp turn east, then southeast into the confused waters of Anaunethad Lake settled the matter. We were headed for Wholdaia Lake and our river was the headwaters of the Dubawnt.

There were incidents along the way. In one strong rapid we almost lost our outfit. On Smalltree Lake we reached the edge of the Barrens with their characteristic bird notes. Twice we saw bull caribou but our hunting was unsuccessful. Fisheries were usually good at the rapids but we had drawn so heavily on our reserve supplies on the Abitau that no fish meant very thin rations. Continual wetting had rotted our clothes and footwear. All together it was just as well that our return journey was to be by the comparatively short route to Fond du Lac on Lake Athabaska instead of the long difficult one down Thelon River and thence to Resolution on Great Slave Lake.

*The author's personal log for this locality contains the following extracts: "July 5: . . . lake 17 miles long . . . fish scarce and poor (Thelewey-aza) . . . made fine camp on small island with many old teepee poles . . . found two very old broken knives . . . we are in the locality of Hearne's Theleway-aza-yeth lake but it will be difficult to identify in passing . . . signs are good, the birch, many old camps, the abandoned canoes and the position . . . unquestionably this is an Indian route to the caribou much used in ancient times."

Where Is Thelewey-aza-yeth?

The identification of this lake is important. It is the last remaining of Hearne's key points to be determined beyond reasonable doubt. At this point the Indian road running northwards to the Copper Indian country left the much travelled east-west track from Churchill to the Athabaska country. The Copper Indian road was fixed by certain conditions. Most of it crossed the barren grounds, and small canoes for crossing rivers and lakes had to be carried. Materials for these, however, had to be obtained before leaving the woods where good sized birch trees grew.

The course of the northward track had to be such that it passed well east of the rough country east of Great Slave Lake. Hearne's party paused ten days at Thelewey-aza-yeth, where birch bark and wood were obtained for canoes, then proceeded ten miles north to Thelewey-aza River, where birch was also found. He notes of Thelewey-aza-yeth that it is a small lake, with a high hill standing on a long point near the west end of the lake, and that his party pitched their seven tents, housing about seventy people, on an island. His map gives the lake a distinctive shape, and shows four islands.

After leaving the lake, they travelled NNW to Thelewey-aza River, and then north. Hearne's bearings were sometimes weak, ignoring variation of the compass, which in this locality is about 29° E. But he was a sailor, and would not have made a large error in a cardinal point at a season when the north star was often visible. It may be assumed, then, that the course to Clowey Lake would lie approximately true north. This course intersects the east-west track about the head of Dubawnt River.

Alcantara Lake, which Dr. Wilson believes is Hearne's Thelewey-aza-yeth, appears to be the chief source of the Thoa River, and must lie near the summit of the dome from which waters drain southwest by the Thoa and Abitau Rivers to the Tazin and thence to the Taltson. This dome has an elevation of 1775 feet, at Abitau Lake, and it would be almost impossible for birch trees to grow under the conditions that obtain on such a high plateau in that region. The lake contains few, if any, islands, and is of a simple long narrow shape. It lies some fifty miles west of Labyrinth, and the course from it to Clowey would be north 30° east.

It seems most unlikely that Matonnabee, who knew the country thoroughly, would travel far to the west of his northward course, past good birch and deep into scrubby country, which is much more difficult to travel at that season.

Labyrinth Lake, on the other hand, like Thelewey-aza-yeth, is small and has several islands. Good sized birch trees grow in its vicinity, and there is evidence that it has been resorted to by Indian hunters and canoe builders in days long past. From the height of land where the trees are small and scrubby, the country falls sharply away eastward into valleys with alluvial soil where birch trees grow; and large birch are found on the shore of Insula Lake, together with much old cutting and signs of ancient camps.

The evidence of the ground, in fact, together with that from Hearne's map and narrative, points to the locality of the Dubawnt headwaters for Thelewey-aza-yeth, and Labyrinth Lake appears to meet all requirements.

A Mountie and his dog look down on the Committee's Punch Bowl, which drains to both Pacific and Arctic Oceans. *C.N.R.*

COMMITTEE'S PUNCH BOWL

by W. Everard Edmonds

Many famous travellers have seen the little lake at the top of Athabaska Pass, which Simpson named after the Company's London Board, 125 years ago.

AT the summit of Athabasca Pass, in the heart of the Canadian Rockies, lies a little lonely tarn celebrated the world over. Mentioned by transcontinental travellers time and again, its distinction is derived, not from its brilliant colouring or beauty of form, but solely from the fact that, strategically situated on the Great Divide, its waters make their way into two separate oceans. This is the Committee's Punch Bowl, named by Governor George Simpson, just one hundred and twenty-five years ago, to honour the Company's London Committee.

Sir George made his first trip through the Athabasca Pass from east to west in 1824, and the following interesting entry, dated October 17th, appears in his journal: "At the very top of the pass or height of Land is a small circular Lake or Basin of Water which empties itself in opposite directions, and may be said to be the source of the Columbia and Athabasca Rivers as it bestows its favors on both these prodigious Streams, the former falling into the Pacific at Lat. 46½ north and the latter after passing through Athabasca & Great Slave Lakes falling into the Frozen Ocean at about 69 North Lat. That this basin should send its Waters to each side of the Continent and give birth to two of the principal Rivers in North America is no less strange than true, both the Dr. [Dr. McLoughlin, who accompanied him] & myself having examined the currents flowing from it east & West and the circumstance appearing remarkable I thought it should be honored by a distinguishing title and it was forthwith named the 'Committee's Punch Bowl'."

In 1811 Athabasca Pass had been crossed by David Thompson of the North West Company after hostile Piegan Indians had blocked his way through Howse Pass, farther south. From then on for some years it served as the chief gateway through the mountains to

the Pacific slope, and many distinguished travellers connected with the fur trade passed that way. Few of them failed to make mention of the Committee's Punch Bowl in their journals, and several of them speak of two lakes side by side.

One of the earliest writers to do so was Ross Cox, a former employee of the American Fur Company at Astoria, a post taken over by the British after the outbreak of war in 1812. In 1817 Cox led a large party eastward by way of Athabasca Pass, and the following entry, dated May 31, describes their arrival at the summit:

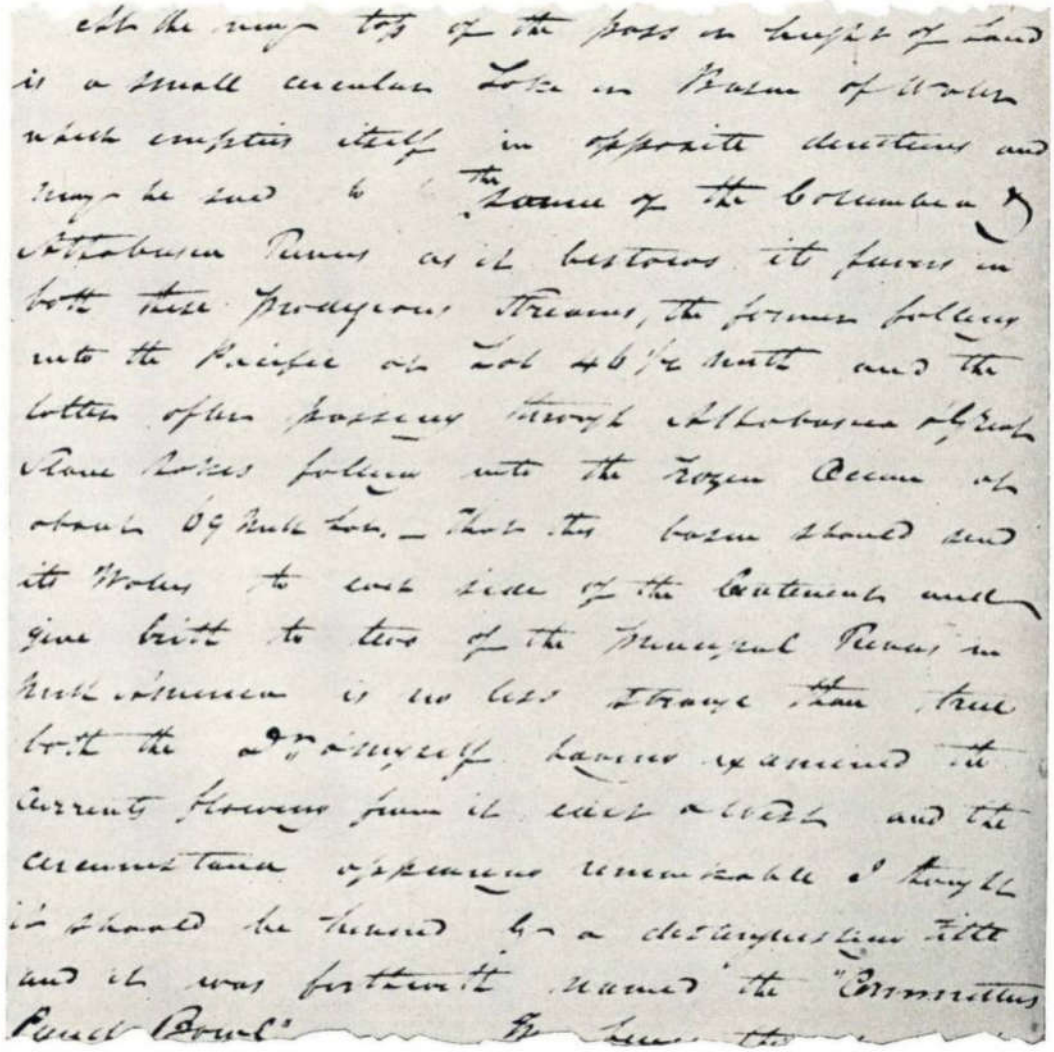
"At one P.M. we arrived at two small lakes between which we encamped. They are only a few hundred feet each in circumference, and the distance between them does not exceed twenty-five or thirty feet. They lie on the most level part of the height of land, and are situated between an immense cut of the Rocky Mountains. From them two rivers take their rise which pursue different courses, and fall into separate oceans; the first winds into the valley which we had lately left, and, after joining the upper part of the Columbia, empties itself into the North Pacific; while the other, called the Rocky Mountain River, a branch of the Athabasca, follows first an eastern and then a northern course, until it forms a junction with the Unjigah or Peace River. This falls into Great Slave Lake, the waters of which are carried by McKenzie's River to the Arctic Ocean."

In 1825 Sir George Simpson, having completed his inspection of the Company's fur-trading posts beyond the mountains, returned eastward by the way that he had come, that is by the Columbia River and Athabasca Pass. He was accompanied by Alexander Ross, who has left us an interesting account of the trip over the pass. They had encamped for the night on the Grande Cote, where the snow lay eight feet deep. "Leaving now the Grande Cote," writes Ross in his journal, we advanced on the morning crust at a quick pace through a broad level valley thickly wooded with dwarf pines for about six miles in an easterly direction, when we reached what is called the great height of land.

"At this place there is a small circular basin of water, twenty yards in diameter, dignified with the name of a lake, out of which flow two small creeks. The one on the west side discharges itself into Portage River; that on the east joins the Athabasca River at a place called the Hole.

"This elevated pond is further dignified with the name of the Committee's Punch Bowl, in honour of which his Excellency treated us to a bottle of wine, as we had neither time nor convenience to make a bowl of punch, although a glass of it would have been very acceptable. It is a tribute always paid to this place when a nabob of the fur-trade passes by."

The next distinguished traveller to pay tribute to the "Punch Bowl" was Thomas Drummond, assistant



George Simpson's own account from his journal of the naming of the Punch Bowl.

naturalist to the second Franklin expedition. He spent a year in the vicinity of Jasper House. In October 1826 he made a trip through Athabasca Pass to Boat Encampment, on the Columbia River, and the following brief extract is taken from his journal:

"At about fifteen or twenty miles above the commencement of the Portage, we left the main branch of the Red Deer River, and followed a lesser stream that here joins it, winding along its banks, and not infrequently scrambling in the bed of it, until we reached a small lake and the Height of Land. The lake is not more than two hundred yards in length and is called the Committee's Punch Bowl. Out of its other extremity flows one of the tributary streams of the Columbia. On reaching the middle, I took a hearty draft, pleasing myself with the thought that some of the water I had tasted might have flowed either into the Frozen or Pacific Oceans."

In the following year, another noted botanist went through the pass. This was David Douglas, after whom the Douglas fir is named. He was travelling eastward with Edward Ermatinger, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the following passage is taken from the condensed journal he compiled some time after the occurrence of the actual events:

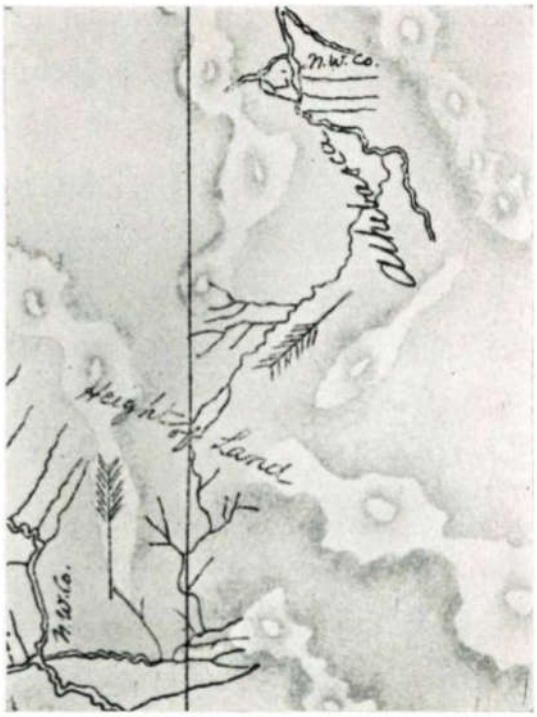
"We continued our ascent, and at ten had the satisfaction to reach the summit, where we made a short stoppage to rest ourselves, and then descended the eastern side of the Big Hill to a small, round open piece of ground through which flowed the small or east feeder of the Columbia and the same stream we left yesterday at the western base of the Big Hill. Near this point we put up at mid-day.

"At three o'clock, I felt so cold—the thermometer stood at only two degrees below zero—that I was obliged to rise and enliven the fire and have myself comfortably warmed before starting. Through three hundred yards of gradually rising, open, low, pine wood we passed, and about the same distance of open ground took us to the basin of this mighty river, a small circular lake, twenty yards in diameter, in the center of the valley, with a small outlet at the west end, namely, one of the branches of the Athabasca, which must be considered one of the tributaries of the McKenzie River. . . . This, 'The Committee's Punch Bowl' is considered the halfway house."

The year 1846 saw a number of interesting personages making their way across the Great Divide by Athabasca Pass. The first was the genial Jesuit priest, Pierre Jean De Smet, who in the month of April crossed the pass westward en route to the Oregon missions. He records in his journal that, in order to reach the height of land at the Committee's Punch Bowl, it was necessary to cross the rivers Maligne, Gens de Colets, Miette and Trou.

On his way to the Oregon country, Father De Smet met the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade bound for York Factory. "The leaders of the company," he writes, "were my old friends, Mr. Ermatinger of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, and two distinguished officers of the English army, Captains Ward and Vavasseur [Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour], whom I had the honour of entertaining last year at the Great Kalispel Lake."

The two military officers referred to by Father De Smet had been sent out to the Pacific coast by the British government in 1845, when there was some danger of trouble between Britain and the United States over the Oregon boundary. They were to seek



David Thompson was the first white man to see Athabaska Pass. His map shows it simply as "Height of Land."

out the most favourable routes for troops through the Rocky Mountains. They were now returning eastward, and, of their crossing of the mountains by Athabasca Pass, Lieutenant Warre wrote as follows:

"We had for many days been surrounded by magnificent mountains, and had passed through such a beautiful country, that the effect of this grand and solitary scene was partially destroyed by the sublimity of that which had preceded it. The mountains are about 10,000 feet in height, unequalled in any part of Switzerland for the ruggedness of their peaks and beauty of form, capped and dazzling in their white mantle of snow." Then there occurs the usual reference to the Committee's Punch Bowl.

Warre was a trained artist, but he was not the only "maker of pictures" who traversed Athabasca Pass in 1846. In May of that year, the distinguished Canadian painter, Paul Kane, set out from Toronto on what has been described as the most adventurous sketching trip in history, a journey of 6,000 miles by canoe, on foot, on horse-back and on snow-shoes. (*Beaver*, December 1946.) After reaching Fort Garry, he travelled by way of Norway House and Carlton to Fort Edmonton; then on to Jasper House, and over the mountains to the Pacific coast. Paul Kane's record of his remarkable trip was published in 1859 under the title, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America*. One brief entry, that of November 12, 1846, records his arrival at the Punch Bowl.

In 1872 Walter Moberly, who had been conducting surveys through Howse Pass for the Canadian Pacific Railway, came northward to Athabasca Pass. In the latter part of August, he wrote as follows: "We now began the steep ascent by the old H. B. Company's trail to reach the depression between Mounts Brown and Hooker—the Athabasca Pass—gaining an elevated valley, with grassy glades and groves of firs. Where the walking was fair we made good headway,

camped a short distance north of the celebrated 'Committee's Punch Bowl.'

"Following along, and gradually ascending Mount Brown, we saw a grizzly bear above us, and shot a ptarmigan; and then coming on a well-beaten cariboo trail, reached the top of a ridge with a high conical peak immediately on our right, and a mass of hard perpetual snow on the north side of the ridge, down which we went with difficulty, seeing the tracks of four caribou. There was a fine view from the top of this ridge, the mountains in the north forming a magnificent amphitheatre some five miles in width, and the innumerable torrents dashing down the rocks with white foam like silver spray, the thick groves of dark fir, the grassy flats and many small lakes or ponds rendering it enchanting."

In the published records of later visitors to the Committee's Punch Bowl, one may detect a note of disappointment that this highly lauded natural phenomenon should be so small and insignificant. Perhaps the expectations of these writers had been unduly raised by the glowing accounts given of it by earlier travellers. Perhaps they, themselves, were unconsciously affected by the blasé spirit of a more sophisticated age. Whatever the reasons may be, the the fact remains that the observations of these later writers reflect a certain sense of disillusionment noticeably absent from the ingenuous narratives of an earlier day.

During the summer of 1893, Professor A. P. Coleman, the eminent Canadian geologist, made an arduous trip through the Rockies from a point on the C.P.R. to Athabasca Pass, a trip on which he had the misfortune to injure his leg. Eventually he arrived at the Pass, and here is his description of the Committee's Punch Bowl, as presented to us in the author's delightfully written book, *The Canadian Rockies:*

"Less than an hour's journey after lunch brought us to a pond sending a little stream down the valley and we had reached the headquarters of the Whirlpool. From the other end of the pond, a rill flowed southwards, doubtless to the Columbia; and we halted on the green shore of the Committee's Punch Bowl which sends its waters to two oceans nearly two thousand miles apart. Some of the maps make the Punch Bowl a lake ten miles long, but here in real life it was only a small pool less than two hundred yards long. There could be no doubt that it was the Punch Bowl, for beyond it the water flowed in the opposite direction. We were on the Great Divide, the ridge pole of North America, but we felt no enthusiasm. Instead, we felt disillusioned. . . .

"We had expected to row our canvas boat round the lake on the summit, an occupation that would have suited me, since it did not demand legs; but the Punch Bowl was too small a pool to make it worth while, and the boat remained in its pack cover of green canvas."

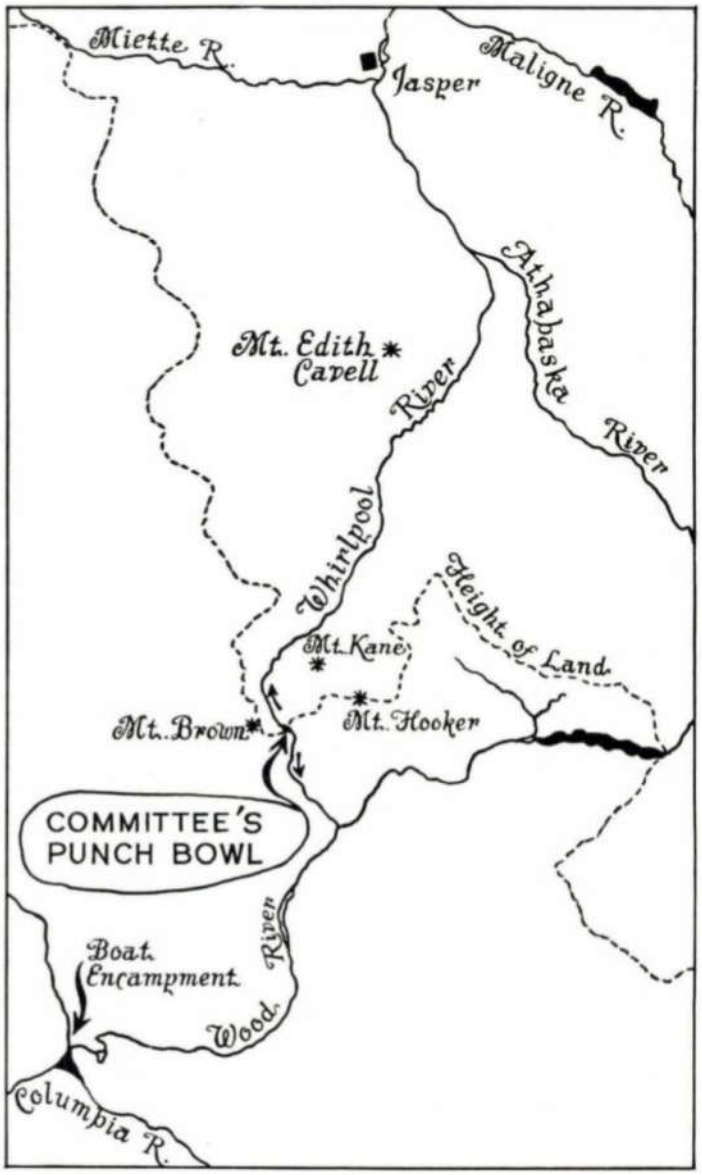
Just one last reference to the far-famed Punch Bowl. On June 26, 1924, J. Monroe Thorington, the well know Alpine climber, left Jasper with three companions bound for Athabasca Pass. In his fascinating book, *The Glittering Mountains of Canada*, Mr. Thorington has written a brief account of this expedition, describing his impressions along the way, as well as his disillusionment on reaching the summit, where he viewed for the first time the "little lake in the skies." The following extract is taken from his trail diary:

"Rounding the shoulder of Mount Kane, trail leads through evergreen timber and thickets of pussy willow, and patches of spring snow. Crowded clusters of anemones and avalanche-lilies press up through the melting margins. In the shadow of McGillivray's Rock, with the snows of Mount Brown ahead, we enter on the Athabasca Pass.

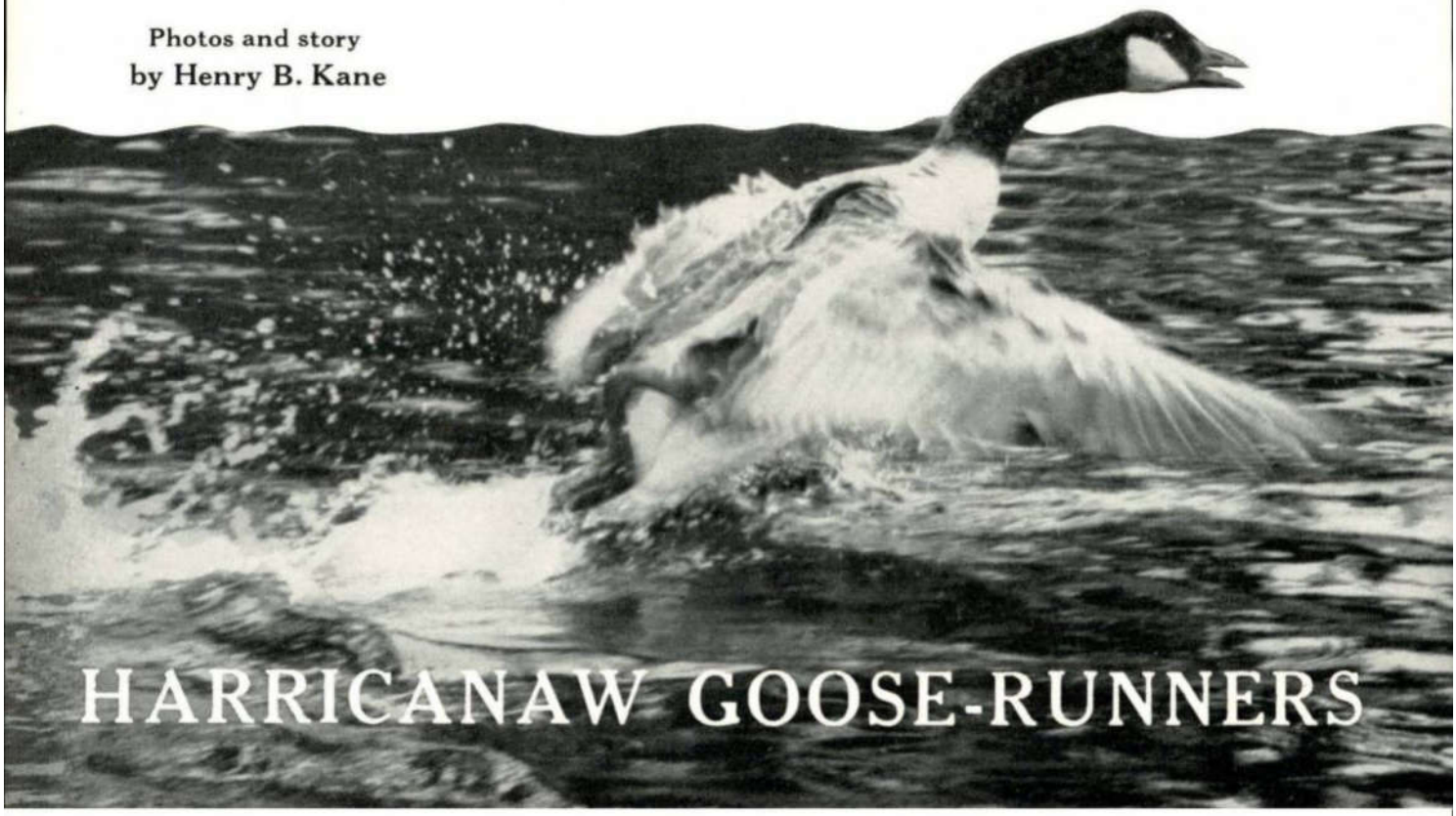
"The valley broadens above the gorge at the foot of Kane, snow becomes deeper, entirely covering the trail; pack-horses, floundering at first, gradually gain confidence in their footing. A gaunt cariboo stalks up and over a nearby ridge, moving so slowly. How surprising to reach the summit lakes on the pass and stop by the central one—the Committee's Punch Bowl. A skim of ice lay on the water, too cold for bathing; and, unlike Coleman, we had not brought a canvas boat. But one of us can at least be credited with having swum a horse across the Great Divide!

"Here Thompson and Douglas had come; here Ross and Simpson had drunk their wine; here had passed De Smet and Kane and all the rest. . . ."

A modern map of the region, showing the location of the celebrated little Punch Bowl.



Photos and story
by Henry B. Kane



HARRICANAW GOOSE-RUNNERS

A young honker, flight feathers not yet fully grown, tries vainly to take to the air.

EACH year the James Bay area, southernmost part of Hudson Bay, becomes more and more renowned for its incomparable goose shooting. When the fall gales drive down from the north, bringing with them snow and sleet and the first taste of the hard winter ahead, tens of thousands of blue and snow geese ride down with them. From their nesting grounds in the far north, the waveys congregate along the broad flats of James Bay, lingering as long as possible to rest and fatten on the plentiful food they find there. And nowhere do they gather in greater numbers than in that section at the mouth of the Harricanaw River known as Hannah Bay.

Each fall ever increasing numbers of hunters shiver on the cold, wind-swept reaches of blue clay flats, considering themselves amply repaid for their hardships and discomforts by enjoying what is undoubtedly the best goose shooting available on this continent. In the winter Crees from Moose Factory and Rupert's House range the virgin spruce forests and the frozen muskeg, gathering the supply of pelts on which their existence depends. But in the spring and summer few human beings have reason to visit this flat and lonely country. Then it is left to the moose and beaver, to the black ducks and pintails, yellowlegs, and Canada geese, and especially to the great, blood-thirsty hordes of mosquitoes and black flies that rise in unbelievable numbers from its wet, grassy shores.

Last year we visited the Harricanaw in mid-summer. There were three of us under the guidance of Jimmie Cheechoo, one of the best of the Indian guides from the Hudson's Bay post at Moose Factory. It was a photographic expedition that turned out to be, literally, a wild goose chase.

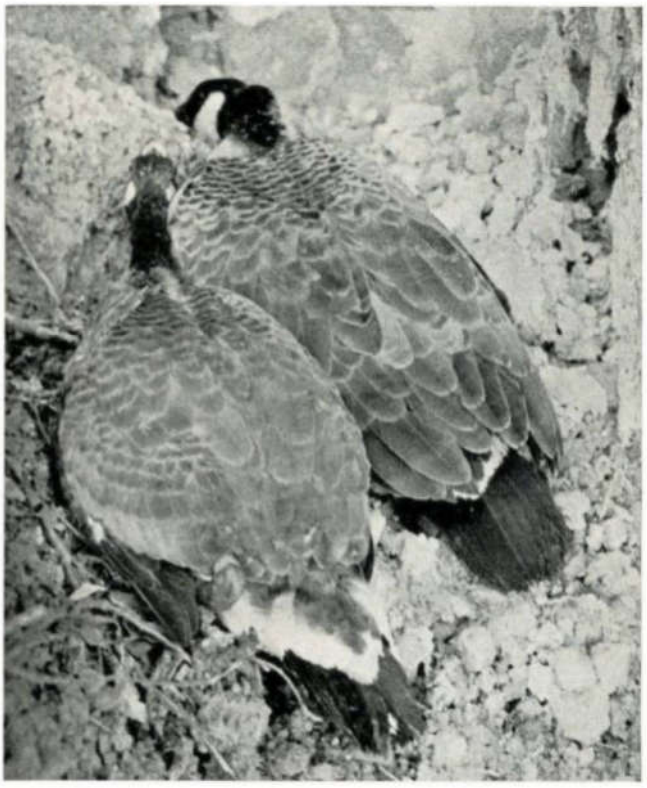
Even in historic times there is no evidence that Canada geese nested very far below the Canadian border, if at all. True to their name, they raised their families in Canada. In recent years, however, they have responded to protection until now there are scattered nesting areas as far south as New York City. We wanted to see and photograph them on their home grounds, however, and Hannah Bay answered the description.

The Crees of the Moose band are world renowned for their ability to bring in birds. Ducks and geese alike respond to their pleading calls. Jimmie was one of the best. Even before we had seen a goose, we had plenty of opportunity to observe his ability. As we lay flat in the sparse grass that covered the wet clay flats, his "QUACK, Quack, quack" or seductive whistle brought in blacks, pintails, and yellowlegs to wheel around our heads. However, we saw no geese until after we had entered the broad, shallow mouth of the Harricanaw.

The first family we saw successfully eluded us. They scattered in all directions, swimming long distances under water, and appearing again as widely separated individuals. We continued up the river. After poling through several rapids, we landed on a low-lying island whose clay and sand surface was covered with wild onions, strawberries, and everywhere among them, goose tracks. They were there! From that point on, the river seemed filled with geese, in all stages of growth.

At first we chased the honkers back and forth across the river, the big twenty-four foot Peterborough freight canoe manoeuvring sluggishly in the increasingly shallow waters, as we gathered pictures of

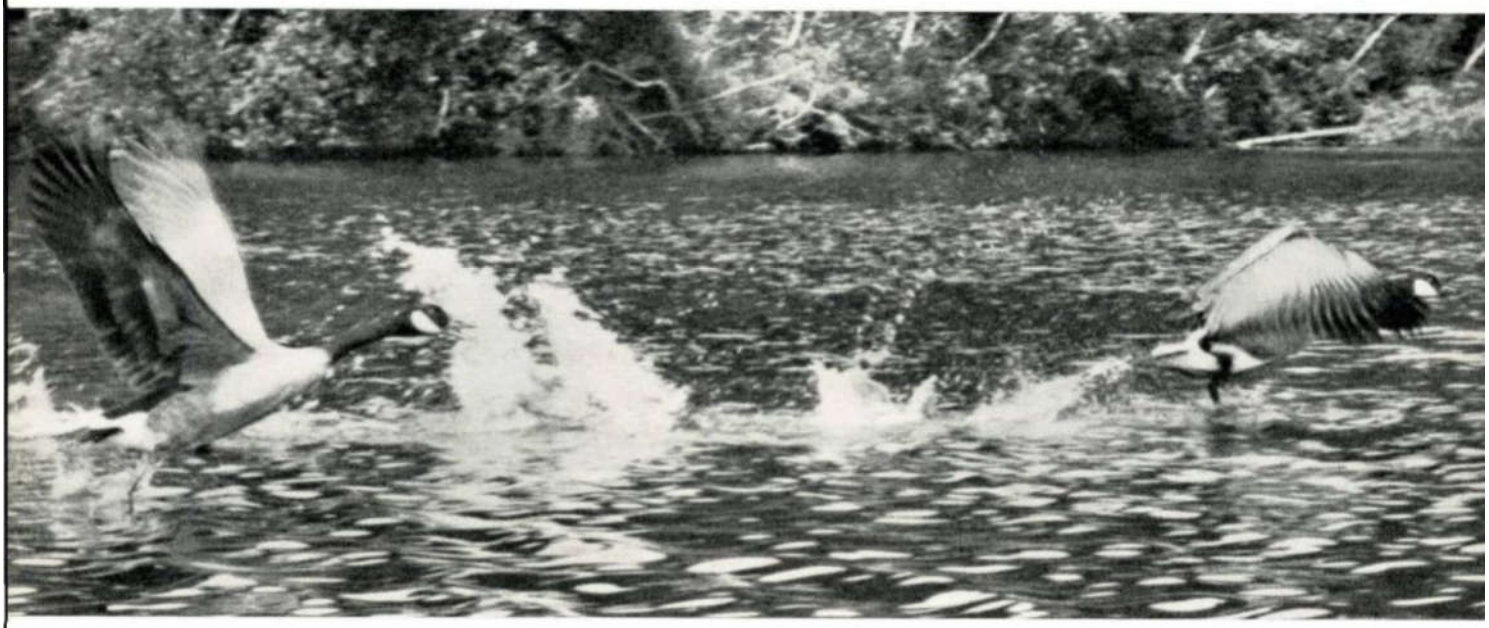
A late brood of goslings is surprised in the grass.



Left: Jimmie Cheechoo holds a couple of young Canadas, one of which was hiding under the water by grasping a rock with his bill.

Above: Two goslings, almost full grown, emulate the legendary ostrich by hiding their heads under an overhanging bank.

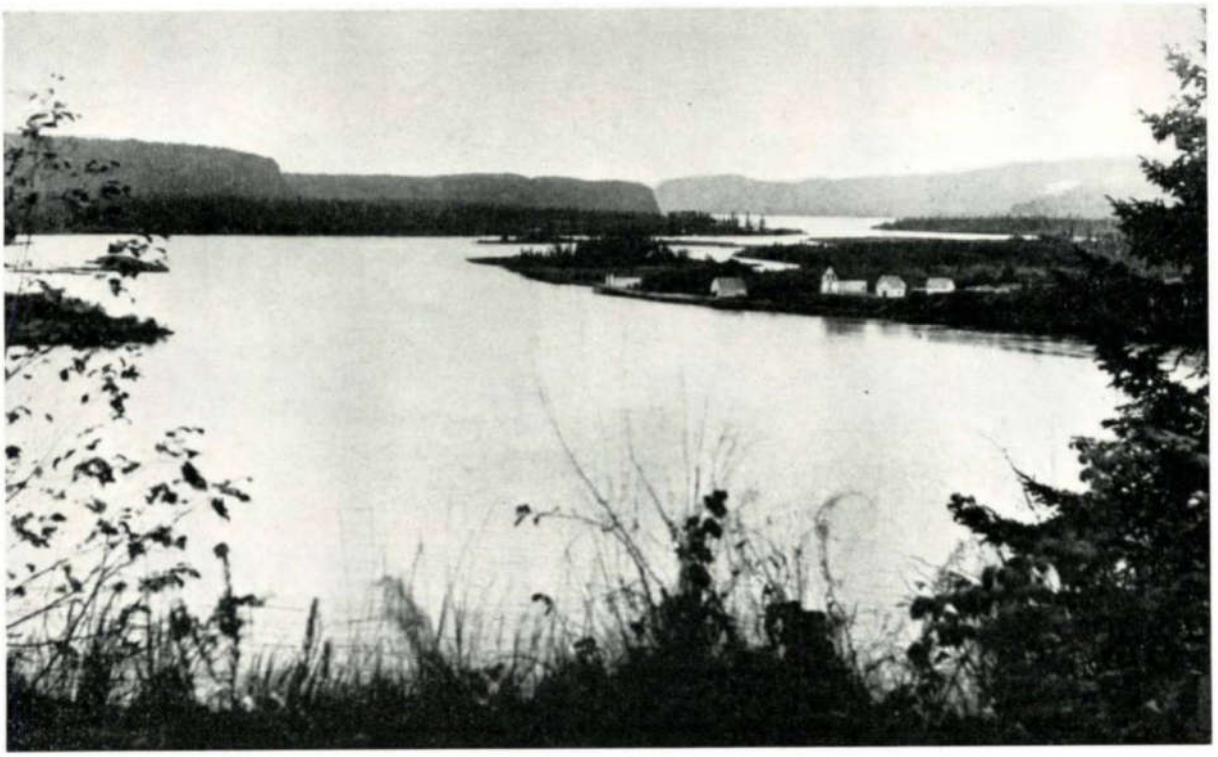
Two Canada geese rise off the water, running along the surface for some distance before they become airborne.



A big gander takes off heavily, beating low over the marsh grass.

young geese still unable to fly, and older birds whose flight feathers had not yet grown back after the seasonal molt. Then we discovered that some of the young birds preferred to seek refuge on shore. The accompanying photographs tell the story.

The old yarn of the ostrich hiding his head in the sand may have been long since disproved, but Harricanaw geese still have the same idea. Invariably they seemed to think that immobility and hiding their heads was all that was needed to avoid detection. And sometimes they were almost right. The mottled gray and contrasting blacks and whites often made the birds almost invisible on these rock-strewn shores, as long as they remained frozen in position. But when they were finally captured, these young geese appeared to be not in the least perturbed. Escape was a natural instinct, but when caught they seemed to have little fear of their captors. It is to be hoped that this trustfulness had disappeared by the time they had to run the gauntlet of the battery of guns awaiting them in the fall, all the way from the Harricanaw down along the New England coast and south to Chesapeake Bay. The hunters who laid in wait along that route may have had their thrills, but it is a question if any of them got quite such a kick out of the chase as did the goose-runners of the Harricanaw.



The Hudson's Bay post at Red Rock, now Nipigon, in the 1880's.

NIPIGON FISHERWOMAN

A frail American woman braves the rigours of wilderness travel sixty years ago, just to see how she can take it.

by James Taylor Dunn

"WHAT are storms and congestive chills and 'skeeters and black flies and punkies and short supplies, cold and wet, compared to the delight of being out of doors all the time on this beautiful river?" These words were written back in 1888 by soft-voiced, be-spectacled Elizabeth Taylor, whom a newspaper reporter called a "gentle, frail little creature." She had just completed a trip up the Nipigon River to an Anglican mission, sixty miles from civilization, where she witnessed an Indian treaty payment. It was the first real camping trip of her life (she was thirty-two at the time) and the letters she sent to friends back in her home town of St. Paul, Minnesota, were filled with enthusiasm. "I've always heard," she continued in this same letter, "that Americans did not take kindly to out of door life, but I felt as if I had always been a wild Indian of the forest, and couldn't bear to sleep in the house."

Like a fledgling trying out its wings, Miss Taylor made this trip to see how well she could stand up under difficult conditions and away from the comforts of civilization. In the back of her mind she had vague plans about a future trip she hoped some day to take, plans which became an actuality in 1892 when she travelled down north on the Mackenzie River to the far away forts of the Hudson's Bay Company (*Beaver*, March-June 1948). Never a very healthy woman, frail and anaemic, she set out to condition herself. She wanted to have confidence in her camping ability. "That [Nipigon trip] was a short experience to be sure, but as severe a test as we would be apt to find," she reported to her father, James W. Taylor, the well loved American consul at Winnipeg.

The trip up the Nipigon was made in August of 1888. It started a mile north of Red Rock, "with its red roofs and white walls brilliant among the dark pines that surround it." Red Rock (Nipigon) was the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the north shore of Lake Superior near the mouth of the Nipigon River. It was a beautiful and bright afternoon as she walked over to the foot of Helen Lake, the starting point. "The air was full of the spicy odours of cedars and hemlocks, and the half-sweet, half-bitter fragrance of the poplars; not a sound was heard but the bell-like note of the Peabody bird or white-throated sparrow, and the occasional splash of a trout in the swift current far below, where the Nipigon foams and tumbles along to the bay."

Miss Taylor's companions were waiting for her at the lake, and when she saw their number along with all the accoutrements, she hesitated for a moment. "We had only one moderately large canoe, and into

this light affair [had to go] the missionary's wife, her young son, her Indian woman servant, our [two] guides, myself, camera, fishing tackle, provisions for our party of six, provisions for the man at the mission, two tents, blankets for all, waterproof cloaks, personal baggage. It did not seem possible that the canoe could hold more than ourselves and personal effects. It seemed a crazy thing to do." But she was convinced she would be perfectly safe with experienced guides, especially such a guide as Joseph Esquimau. Joseph immediately filled her with confidence, and this first impression not only remained but was greatly strengthened throughout the trip. Afterwards she recollected, "My other friends have now only some remaining fragments of my heart, the rest is all Joseph's. . . . For thirteen days now Joseph and I have been constant companions and never have I been so well treated. For thoughtfulness, refinement and courtesy Joseph has no equal. He has devoted himself to me, has worked hard and planned for my enjoyment and has never given me an impatient look or cross word. . . . Joseph is by far the best guide on the river." Many years later, again remembering all the guides she had had during her numerous travels through Canada, Norway, France, Italy and England, she could speak highly of only two. One was Ole, who led her through the difficult Hardanger Vidda of Norway. The other was Joseph.

The mission where Elizabeth Taylor stayed was evidently in McIntyre Bay.

"It was a tremendous load for one canoe," she wrote a friend in Stepney Depot, Connecticut, "and we made a hard trip, starting early and camping late. . . . We crossed eighteen portages in all coming and going and seven lakes including twenty miles of Lake Nipigon, but most of the time we were on the river. It was a severe test of my ability as a camper out." On the first night, after crossing Helen Lake, they camped at the foot of the two-and-a-half-mile "Long Portage" above Camp Alexander. The trip across that portage on the following day was a difficult one. "Heat, fog, a slow drizzle, black flies, mosquitoes and punkies by the thousand; everything wet and disagreeable, the portage rough and stony. It was just as well to have this experience at first, for after that, whenever anything went wrong, we had only to recall that morning on the long portage, and everything seemed to brighten." That same day they followed the river up through Lakes Jessie and Maria and portaged around the rapids at Split Rock. By night of the third day they had a mile portage between them and Lake Nipigon.

Miss Taylor, like her father the consul, was a great lover of Nature. She constantly advised travellers to interest themselves in birds. In that way, at least so she found, one forgets the onslaughts of flies and mosquitoes. Throughout this trip she counted the birds seen and heard and ended up with a total of thirty-eight. Her favourite of them all was the curious, confident whiskey jack. She was also an amateur botanist, and on the trails she collected forty-five varieties of flowers. The most abundant, she found, was the pink willow-herb, the *Epilobium augustifolium*. "The mile portage," she wrote, "that brings one to the shore of Lake Nipigon, along the western route—that taken by the Hudson Bay Company packers—is over great rocks, most of the way, covered with a mingled growth of blueberries, red raspberries, the running or swamp raspberry . . . ladies' tresses, white pyrolas and the . . . three-fingered cinquefoil, in great profusion."

After a mile portage over a peninsula, they covered approximately twelve miles of Lake Nipigon and reached their destination very late at night, exhausted. "I just managed to get up the hill to the mission, wrapped myself up in my H.B. Co. blanket, threw myself on the outside of a little cot bed and slept seven hours of *hard* sleep."

On the following day, refreshed by a good night's rest, the surroundings claimed her attention. "The Mission consists of a house made of hewn logs, a tiny church much like it, and a dozen Indian log houses." The chapel had been built by the Indians, and the house, quite roomy, was for the missionary, and his family. "There was little to eat at the place; a *very* little bad oil, enough for one lamp, and *I* have one precious piece of candle. But Mrs. N. [the missionary's wife] has oatmeal and they have a cow and we had a breakfast of lake trout and oatmeal served on a white plate on a table! Such luxury is demoralizing. The paymaster has been delayed after all and we are anxiously scanning the horizon of the lake for his canoes. Of course we must stay now until he comes."

Five days were spent at the mission. "I am acquiring some accomplishments," she wrote. "I can shout *Boo Joo! Boo Joo!* to the Indians as we pass, can say *Kah-wean* with the proper inflection and stated demeanor, and you should see the skill with which I get out of the door here. *Eleven* dogs make a rush to

get in when the door is opened and it takes great presence of mind and many brisk hops to avoid being capsized."

On the second day the paymaster arrived bringing "pork, tea and flour with them, but only one candle and that is almost gone." The government surveyor, who had accompanied the Indian agent, needed his candle for evening observations, so Miss Taylor carefully guarded hers. All of them went to bed before dark in order to save the candles for the last evening, when the payments were to be made. On the fourth night the Indians entertained them with dances. Although she found it very interesting at first, after three continuous hours she was quite happy to leave. On the next night the Indians were paid four dollars for every man, woman and child. "The agent, two counselors, our guide Joseph, who acted as interpreter, and I had chairs, while the others sat on the bench and on the floor. The room was prettily draped with two flags, and our last two precious bits of candle in bottles graced the table, lighted one after the other. There was much business to attend to—complaints to be heard, the payment made, advice given, etc.—and it was almost midnight when we stepped into our canoe to return to the house, while the Indians stood on the bank with lighted pieces of birch bark to enable us to avoid the submerged rocks of the lake."

In a letter to her fiancé, Miss Taylor wrote in detail about the homeward trip. "Just as the sun was setting, we reached the head of the river, and paddled down between islands that lie about the head. After we had gone about three miles, we heard a hoarse low booming sound [of Virgin Falls] and looking ahead we could see the white line of foam as the first downward plunge was made, and Joseph began to sing.

'Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near, and the daylight's past:'

I was grateful to Joseph for that little additional touch. Joseph is a man of sentiment, and never disappoints one at such times."

On the trip back they had a chance to fish, and Miss Taylor took every advantage of this, even during the most unfavourable weather. She did not achieve her ambition to catch the largest fish of the season, nor did she pull them in in any great quantity. But she was proud of the fact that she had successfully accomplished "the longest trip made by a fisherwoman on the river at any time, and saw the beautiful Lake Nipigon and the river from its head to its mouth."

She fished at Virgin Falls. This was off the beaten track of the Hudson's Bay Company trackers, who usually turned west at Lake Hannah, as she did on her way north to the mission. "That day . . . I caught my first fish with the flyrod . . . . The canoe was plunging and tossing in the rapids. Joseph was in the greatest state of excitement for fear I should lose him, the strong current was helping the trout . . . and a canoe load of fishermen were watching me from a little distance. I felt like a young lawyer or actor appearing for the first time. . . . If I hadn't been catching a trout, I should have been dreadfully afraid of the rapids, which were roaring so close that I could just hear a voice above the noise calling . . . 'Hold up your rod, Miss Taylor!' I held it up, though I was sure it would break, and I caught that trout, and he was landed by one triumphant swoop of the landing net by Joseph, who threw an exulting look over the other guides."

At Camp Victoria, two hours down stream from Virgin Falls, she fished again. She hooked a five-pounder, but "struck too feebly, hooked him very slightly and at the first big rush he tore the hook out and was away. Never shall I forget the look of reproach and deep disappointment on Joseph's face as he turned and looked at me. . . . I had lost my one opportunity of 'beating the record,' and Joseph his chance to triumph over the other guides. I learned to fish standing in the canoe in the midst of the rapids and found it delightful—something like riding a bare backed horse in a circus. The position has to be the same, the knees a little bent, the body swaying slightly and not too stiff."

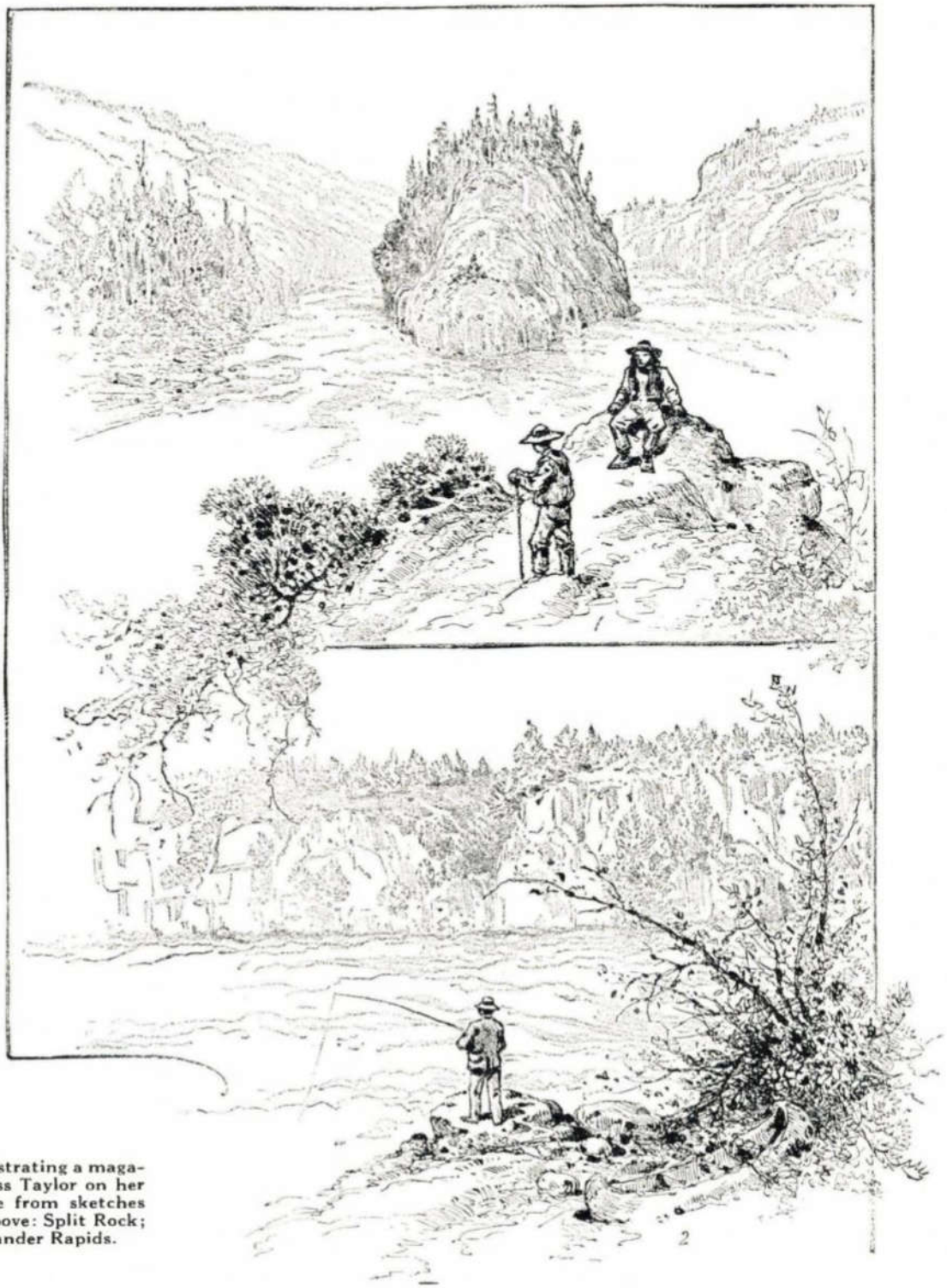
When the chance came to run the Victoria rapids, something seldom done even by the fishermen, she took it, hoping thereby to regain Joseph's favour, which had temporarily been lost when she was unable to land the big trout. Joseph and "the other Joe," the second Indian guide, were about to land her when Joseph asked, "Will you go down with us?" Miss Taylor continued the account, " 'Is it safe, Joseph?' I said; but Joseph wasn't going to commit himself. He answered, 'The gentlemen hardly ever go down these rapids.' I thought a moment and he said, 'We will be very careful if you decide to go.' I could see he wanted me to, and after hesitating a little, I said, 'I will go down with you, Joseph.' He nodded approval and pushed off from shore. I thought a variety of things, waved my hand to some fishermen friends in a canoe above the rapids, crouched low in the canoe and held on tight to the cross pieces. In another moment I felt the first upward leap of the canoe, wished I hadn't come, felt the boat plunge down into the bottomless pit, apparently, and then as we rose, the struggle with the waves began, the guides wielding the paddles with tremendous quick strokes that carried us over the waves before they had time to break. We were through in two minutes and Joseph said with quiet approval, 'You are brave,' and I felt he had forgiven me for losing the big fish."

Throughout the entire trip, this mite of a woman had stood up very well. She had borne all the tribulations as well as any man would have, even better than some. She was proud of this fact. "But pride must have a fall," she wrote. "On the way down, crossing Lake Emma, a tremendous storm arose suddenly, striking us just as we landed. The wind blew a small hurricane, the rain came down in sheets; the men threw everything ashore as the canoe neared the land, we jumped in all directions, and in a minute the canoe was on shore, turned over and propped up on a paddle, and we were under it. But I got wet, it was a cold rain and wind, and in three hours afterwards, when the storm was over and we had crossed another lake and were nearing a portage, I gave out, had a congestive chill and in ten minutes couldn't hold up my head."

She was given several doses of whisky to take at intervals and recovered sufficiently to make the mile-and-a-half portage unaided. "It was hard work but I managed it till I reached the end, when I fainted." She was revived with the whisky but was unable to make the second portage. "The others got out, but I laid flat in the canoe, was covered with waterproof to keep the water out and went down [the rapids] safely, and I think they did me good." Her pride was injured, however, even though Joseph consoled her by saying she had gone through it better than most men.

Late in the night of the thirteenth day they reached Red Rock and the end of Elizabeth Taylor's first camping trip. "I had a perfectly beautiful time," she reported. "I never spent a happier thirteen days in my life." She wanted to go out again, and Joseph tried to persuade her, even saying that he would take no pay. But, since she was unable to secure the right female companion, that was impossible. Joseph asked for her photograph, "for memory sake," he said, and then he had to go back out with other fishermen.

"When I saw Joseph and 'the other Joe' and those Pittsburgh gentlemen starting from the portage above here, I could have wept for grief that I couldn't go again. . . . I watched [them] paddle away through Lake Helen. If I'd only been a boy, *I* could have gone too!"



These pictures illustrating a magazine article by Miss Taylor on her Nipigon trip, were from sketches she had drawn. Above: Split Rock; below: Camp Alexander Rapids.

WOODLAND TABLE MANNERS

Birds and animals have all sorts of ways of dealing with their food.

By Dan McCowan

Why does a raccoon wash its food?

THERE is perhaps no more interesting chapter in the wide field of Canadian natural history than that pertaining to the manner in which sundry animals and birds native to this country deal with their food. Having travelled widely in all ten provinces, I have gained considerable knowledge of the food habits of beasts of the field and fowls of the air. Yet if some reader of these lines should ask me why, for instance, a raccoon habitually scrubs its food in water before making a meal, I should be stumped for an answer. Nor do I understand why a group of cedar waxwings, sitting silently on a horizontal branch of an orchard tree, should repeatedly pass a ripe cherry from bill to bill along the line and back again.

Next to the field mouse, the most important food animal in wild life circles in Canada is the varying hare or snowshoe rabbit. Being otherwise defenceless, it depends almost entirely on a prompt start and on speed of foot in evading a host of enemies, who in turn resort to stealth and ambush. The witless hare is rather easily waylaid. In coping with the carcass of a victim of this type, no two species of predatory animals adopt similar methods. The lynx and the cougar usually turn the skin inside out. The weasel sucks the blood and may eat the brain. Crows and magpies devour the eyes. The red fox, strange as it may seem, has no liking for the hindquarters. The coyote or prairie wolf is invariably ravenous and simply tears the prey apart.

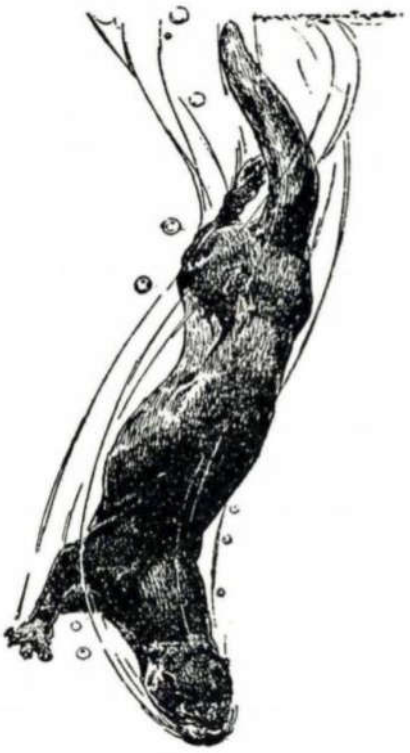
The mountain lion, being extremely fond of fresh venison, seldom makes more than one meal off the carcass of a deer. At first sight this seems singularly wasteful, and these large carnivores are frequently charged with wanton destruction of game animals. It should be remembered, however, that many creatures resident in the Rockies share in the bounty provided by the cougar. The wolverine, badger and coyote, the garrulous magpies, croaking ravens, squeaking shrews and droning beetles, all come hungry and unbidden to the feast. If the moose or wapiti or mule deer victim was a male and carried antlers, even these will furnish porcupines and mice with a toothsome snack.

Likewise, the otter is considered blameworthy in killing far more salmon than necessary. It is true that these animals habitually consume only the most choice part of the fish and discard the remainder. But here again such woodland dwellers as the bald eagle and the black bear enjoy many a fish supper as unwitting guests of the fast-swimming otter.

The black bear has a more extensive menu than is available to most Canadian animals. On the Pacific coast in autumn, when fish food is plentiful, it varies such diet by eating fruit salads. Using the lips and tongue, Bruin speedily picks great quantities of berries from the bushes, and that without nipping a leaf or snapping a twig. In early summer these shaggy beasts freely harry the nests of waterfowl and of grouse, and play havoc with countless colonies of hard-working ants. Blessed with a sweet tooth, they frequent motor highways on the lookout for donations of confectionery from passing tourists, and lately have been somewhat perturbed over the high price and diminishing supply of chocolate bars.

Few people regard the grizzly bear as being vegetarian in habit. Yet these animals are almost entirely

An early snowfall has caught this rabbit still in his fall overcoat, and he's heading for trouble. ***W. Blowey***



The otter unwittingly provides snacks for the bald eagle and the black bear, immature specimens of which are seen at right and below in photos by T. Tadda.

dependent on roots, bulbs and berries for food. Only in late autumn, preparatory to a prolonged period of fasting over the snowy months, do they normally partake of flesh food. At that season the great grey bears range the tawny upland meadows in quest of mice and devote much time to the unearthing of gophers and to quarrying for marmots. On emerging from winter sleep, they again revert to vegetable diet. Their first breakfast consists of a bushel or so of the bulbs of avalanche lilies and copious draughts of ice water from a nearby glacial stream.

At least two species of native Canadian animal are extremely fond of mushrooms. The mountain caribou, common in certain areas of British Columbia, will purposely walk far for a mouthful of the choice morsels. Pine squirrels frequently scour the forest floor in search of their favourite mushroom—that known as *boletus*. In autumn these active woodland animals store quantities of mushrooms for winter use, placing them on the flat branches of spruce trees, where they are soon dehydrated, and remain edible throughout the season of frost and snow. It is noteworthy that the high branches on which the fungi are dried and stored are out of reach of mice and mule deer. Apparently squirrels have no worries concerning unwholesome toadstools—they eat freely of varieties that to mankind are deadly.

All across Canada, and even down beyond the Arctic Circle, live countless millions of shrews. In order to exist, these tiny creatures must have a meal about once in every two hours, winter and summer, night and day. They feed mainly on beetles and grubs and

This bear cub is having a fine time batting around a wasps' nest (fortunately unoccupied at the time).

Horned owls can swallow an entire adult rat. They also like muskrats. Hence the chain. *W. Blowey*

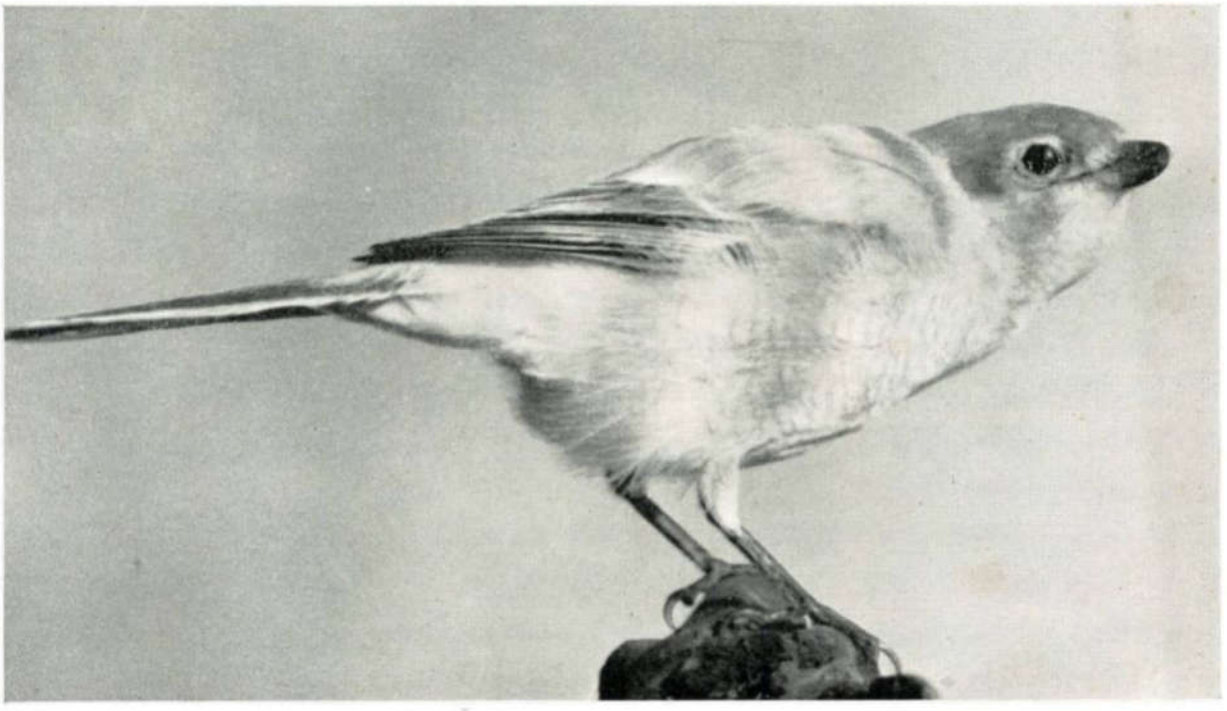
remain active all the year through. That they succeed in finding suitable food at such frequent intervals in the midst of long periods of sub-zero winter weather is truly amazing. It should perhaps be mentioned that shrews, like birds, have a blood temperature normally about ten degrees higher than that of most mammals. Coupled with that is a rapid digestion, which in turn develops an abnormal appetite for food.

The wolverine, perhaps the most savage and certainly the most primitive animal in Canada, is also known as the glutton. Yet this ferocious giant weasel is no more gluttonous than a gopher and not so pronounced a food hog as are many native birds. Take for instance the gulls. On the many golf courses around Vancouver and Victoria, following the occasional rainstorm, one may witness shocking displays of greed on the part of herring gulls. These large seafaring birds devour earthworms to utmost capacity. Whereupon, disgorging the entire cargo, they continue to range the sodden greens and fairways in quest of another load.

On the British Columbia coast lives a bird called the black oyster catcher. But it is doubtful if any one of them ever enjoyed an oyster supper. With a bright red chisel-shaped bill, they do, however, prise barnacles from the rocks at low tide, that being their favourite food. The clever and resourceful crows, watching gulls dealing with clams as food, have also learned to carry these shell-fish aloft and, by dropping them on rocks or, as more recently, on the hard surface of paved highways, gain many a tasty meal.

The table manners of birds, in fact, are as interesting as those of mammals. The horned owl swallows mice and other rodents holus-bolus—it has a gullet sufficiently wide to permit passage of an entire adult rat. When all edible parts of the rat have been digested, the owl spits out fur and bones in the form of compact pellets. Young squabs are nourished on so-called pigeon's milk—a kind of soupy mash whose chief ingredient is grain pre-digested by the parent birds. The food formula of juvenile humming birds hatched in Canada is compounded of pulped insects flavoured with the sweet nectar of flowers. The young of the white pelican, common on islets in northern Canada, thrive well on a steady diet of fish chowder.

The shrike believes in hanging his game until it becomes tender. *Dan McCowan*



These young bitterns have impeccable table manners. *Dan McCowan*

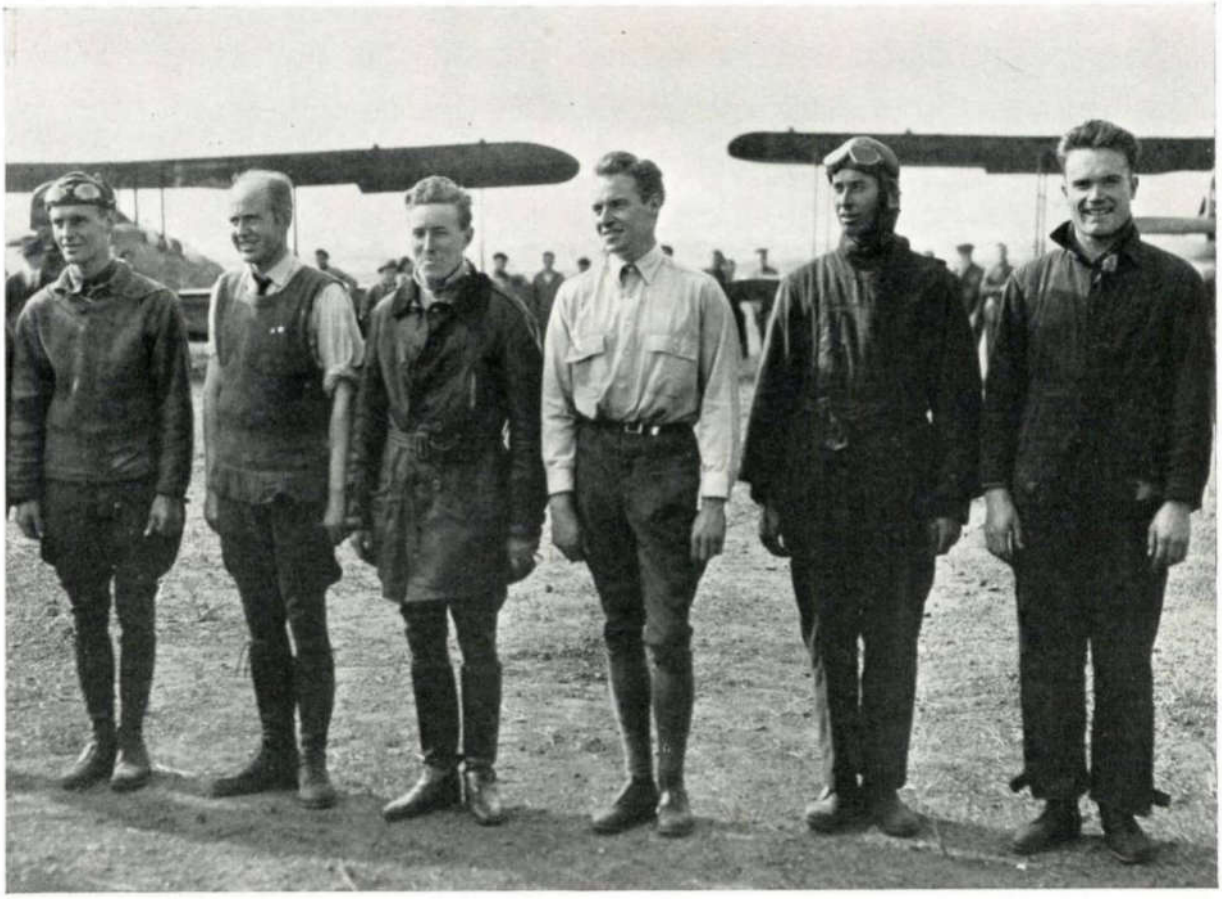
This food is partly digested by the mother bird and served in the large skin pouch under her lower bill. In their unseemly haste to secure a share, the ungainly chicks almost disappear down the throat of their parent. The meal is over in a few seconds, and there are no left-overs. One noteworthy feature of life in a pelican nursery is that every meal is what one might call a free-for-all event. Any young one in the neighbourhood is welcome to partake of the feast and with all adults in the colony it is "first come, first served."

In contrast with the rough and ready feeding habits of young pelicans, the orderly manner in which nestlings of the osprey or fish hawk and the bittern behave at meal time is most marked. When a freshly caught fish has been hurriedly flown to the family nest on a tall tree stump by one or other of the parents, the young ones wait patiently while the fillets are dealt out in turn. There is no unseemly squabbling about unequal shares and all seem satisfied with the individual helpings. The young of the bittern, cradled amongst reeds in a humid swamp, are likewise well mannered when the mother brings home a gullet load of minnows for supper.

Widely distributed over a large area of Canada is the shrike or butcher bird. Catching mice and small feathered victims for food, each bird of this type maintains an individual larder in which all meat is purposely hung. While the shrike has the bill of a hawk, the feet are similar to those of a sparrow—in other words, it has a carving knife but no fork, and thus each carcass must temporarily be hung on the spikes of a thorn bush until the flesh has become tender. If there is no thorny shrub or tree available, the spikes on a barbed wire fence serve as meat hooks.

Of the many species of birds native to Canada there is but one which, to my knowledge, habitually stores a winter supply of food. The Canada jay, or as it is perhaps better known, the whisky jack, harvests and hoards food in autumn, the fruit of the wild rose—even more rich in vitamin C than is the orange—being the most favoured crop. One wonders, indeed, if the jay, a very brainy bird, may possibly have pioneered in the vitamin field.

Maybe the whisky jack is vitamin conscious?



Six of the eight airmen who blazed the air trail to Alaska. A photo taken at Mitchell Field, N.Y., on their triumphant return from Nome. Left to right: Nutt, Nelson, Crumrine, Kirkpatrick, Long, English. *U.S. Army Signal Corps*

NEW YORK to NOME and BACK

In 1920, eight fliers of the United States Army Air Service flew from New York to Nome and return

by F. H. Ellis

THE Northwest Staging Route, which traverses the wilds of northern British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska, was established as an air route to make Alaska secure, and to permit the driving of the Japanese from the Aleutians, as well as opening up a practical air route to Russia during the latter years of World War II. Much has been written of the $58,000,000 undertaking since it went into operation, but very few people know that it had its beginnings back in 1920, when the Canadian and American governments investigated the feasibility of establishing such direct air connections with the north.

The first knowledge Yukoners had that such a project was being considered was when Captain H. T. Douglas of the U.S. Army Air Service and Captain H. A. LeRoyer of the Canadian Air Force arrived at Whitehorse on June 18, 1920, to make arrangements for a suitable landing place for the machines. After orders had been placed with a local contractor to make a special landing strip 550 yards in length and 125 yards wide on the outskirts of town, the two officers left by steamer for Dawson and Alaskan points to make similar arrangements.

So the First Alaska Air Expedition came into being in 1920, to wing its way across the eastern states, over the wide Canadian prairies and the bristling peaks and dense forests of the Rockies to the Pacific coast, then northward up the rugged coast to conquer the mountains of the Yukon and Alaska, and finally reach its destination at Nome. Even then the journey was only half done, and months later, after overcoming innumerable dangers and tribulations, the gallant airmen arrived back in New York, worn and dingy, but undaunted and triumphant.

Travellers who fly over the route today in a matter of hours owe much to those airmen who toiled many weary days on the ground as well as in the air to bring to a successful conclusion the first flights to Alaska and return.

The expedition consisted of eight personnel and four De Havilland 4B aircraft, each machine being

powered with twelve-cylinder, 400-h.p. Liberty engine, and carrying fuel tanks of 120 gallon capacity with twelve gallons of oil. The aircraft were numbered one to four, and bore U.S. Army Air Service insignia, together with a wolf's head on either side of their fuselages.

Captain St. Clair Streett, leader of the expedition, was pilot of No. 1, and with him was Sergeant Edmund Henriques. No. 2 carried First Lieut. Clifford C. Nutt and Second Lieut. Erik H. Nelson, the latter being engineering officer, a position which he later held in connection with the U.S. round-the-world flight made in 1924. The crew of No. 3 were Second Lieut. C. H. Crumrine and Sergeant James Long, while in No. 4 were Lieut. Ross C. Kirkpatrick and Master Electrician Joseph E. English.

The flight got under way from Mitchell Field, Long Island, on July 15, 1920, when all four machines left within minutes of each other. Until their return months later, they waged a continuous battle with the elements and with unsuitable landing grounds. Scheduled stops were as follows: Erie, Pa.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Winona, Minn.; Fargo and Portal, N. D.; Saskatoon, Sask.; Edmonton and Jasper House, Alberta; Prince George and Hazelton, B.C.; Wrangell, Alaska; Whitehorse and Dawson, Yukon; Fairbanks, Ruby and finally Nome, all in Alaska. But many additional stops were forced upon the airmen during their journeyings. The return trip was planned to follow the same route.

After a number of delays, due chiefly to bad weather, the airmen reached their port of entry to Canada at Portal, N.D., and on July 25 they crossed the international border in open formation, reaching the McClelland aerodrome at Saskatoon after a four-and-a-half-hour flight.

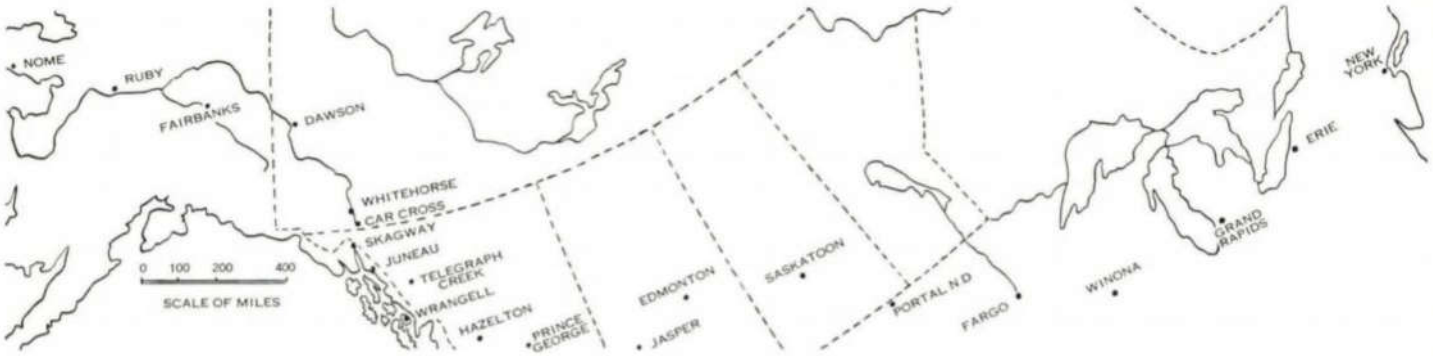
The morning of the 27th found them en route to Edmonton. After crossing Lake Manitou, and flying along the Battle River valley, they were met several miles out of Edmonton by an air escort of two Curtiss J.N.4s, flown by Captain "Wop" May and Lieutenant George Gorman, whose passengers were Acting Mayor James East and Alderman Charles Hepburn, of Edmonton.

On reaching the Alberta capital, the U.S. airmen went down to a landing in a likely looking field, where May and Gorman followed them down to explain that they were expected at another field. So after a good laugh, all six machines took off, and a few minutes later they reached the field where city fathers and a throng of citizens awaited their coming.

A few days were spent in Edmonton putting the machines in shape for the hazardous flight across the mountains. Then with conditions good, on August 1st the airmen took off, flying over the Pembina River country, where huge areas of the forest were seen ablaze. The fliers then turned north to avoid the smoke haze, and following the Athabasca river, reached Jasper Lake, where a prepared "landing field" awaited their coming.

The four machines left for Prince George on the 2nd, three reaching their destination; but upon landing, Crumrine's De Havilland blew a tire and damaged the propeller. The landing area was absurdly small, and his passenger, Sgt. Long, climbed from the rear seat and slid down the fuselage towards the tail in an endeavour to slow the craft's landing speed; but the plane went up on its nose in the bush at the end

The four De Havilland aircraft on their way to Alaska arrive at Edmonton. Capt. Streett's machine, the flagship, is in the foreground. ***McDermid Studio***



The flight to Nome and back covered about 9,000 miles, and required one hundred and twelve hours of flying time spread over ninety-seven days.

of the clearing, catapulting Long into dense foliage, where he landed without injury.

Capt. Streett was only away from the Jasper field a matter of minutes when a burst oil pipe started a minor fire, and he returned at once. The trouble was quickly remedied, and he was off again by 1 p.m., flying by way of the Miette valley, over Lake Lucerne, to the Yellowhead Pass, going over at 3,400 feet. He followed the Fraser valley as far as Urling, thence to Prince George, arriving after dusk. The airmen already there had flares going to help guide him in, but heavy rain and darkness hampered his vision, and before the machine came to a stop the lower left wing had been smashed by violent ground contact.

As orders were for the four machines to stick together if one was severely damaged, considerable time elapsed before No. 1 was repaired, and a local cabinet maker—whose name has been forgotten—was called upon to assist.

In the meantime, Capt. Streett and Lieut. Nutt journeyed by train to Hazelton to size up the landing prospects there; but the outlook was somewhat grim, as such areas just didn't exist.

The only spot remotely suitable was on the farm land of a Mr. Bierns, and it was a field of standing oats. Fortunately the owner rose to the occasion, extending great courtesy by having a suitable swath cut through, harrowing and rolling the stubble into a semblance of a runway, and thus British Columbia's first northern "airport" came into being, to Mr. Bierns' everlasting credit.

On August 13 everything was in readiness at Prince George for the airmen to complete the first east to west crossing of British Columbia by air. The four D.H.s took off just before 9 a.m., following first along the course of the Nechako River, and later keeping the railroad in view until reaching Hazelton and the "Bierns airport" at 12.15 p.m. They left at 1.30 p.m. on the hop to Wrangell, using maps which were completely devoid of accurate information from an airman's point of view. Dense clouds obscured their view of the ground for over two hours, and as many high mountain peaks pierce the sky in that area, they were compelled to fly at an altitude of over 10,000 feet. At last the Nass River was spotted, a short time later Steward Arm was recognized, then the Behm Canal and Wrangell Island, and finally Wrangell itself. They landed on Sergieff Island, where residents had kept a smoke smudge going to guide them in, Kirkpatrick being the first down, two hours and twenty-seven minutes out of Hazelton.

The landing area was a stretch of salt marsh grass, a foot deep in water in spots, and the airmen were fortunate to arrive at low tide—for no one had thought to inform them that the flats were inundated with every high tide to a depth of nineteen feet!

On the 16th, three of the aircraft flew on to Whitehorse, but bad luck again dogged Capt. Streett's machine, and a nicked propeller forced a delay until the next day, when he, too, flew on to Whitehorse. The route carried them from Wrangell over the Stikine River and the famous Taku Glacier, on over Juneau and Skagway, across the mountains of the Coast Range via White Pass to Carcross, and so to Whitehorse. It was an historic flight indeed, made only twenty-two years after the sweating hordes of humanity had slowly struggled over the Trail of '98 from Skagway to Whitehorse in the hectic years of the gold rush. Historic too, because the arrival of the three machines at Whitehorse was the first occasion that aircraft had flown at any point in Yukon Territory.

August 17 is Discovery Day in the Yukon and is celebrated annually, and as Dawson was putting on big festivities to mark the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Klondike gold strike, the airmen were anxious to reach that point during the celebration. Machines Nos. 2 and 4, in charge of Nutt and Kirkpatrick, got away from Whitehorse and landed at Faulkner's Field, west of Dawson, arriving on the evening of the 17th; but Crumrine's D.H. blew a tire attempting a take-off, so Streett remained behind with him to wait until repairs were made. Early on the 18th, with the tire patched, the aircraft prepared to start, and Streett was away first. As he circled above, awaiting his friends below, he saw Crumrine's machine swerve and stop, and he knew that the tire had gone again. Rather than run the risk of another landing, once in the air, Streett flew on to Dawson to join the others, and to await the coming of Crumrine, which he expected would be a day at least. Imagine Streett's and the others' surprise when Crumrine arrived not long after. Not to be outdone, Crumrine and Long, with the aid of Bert Peterson, a Whitehorse resident, had wound a rope tightly around the rim of the wheel, and replacing the outer casing of the tire, had strapped it tightly in place with a leather thong which a short time before had done duty as the harness lines of one of Peterson's team of horses. Then they climbed into their seats and, giving the engine full throttle, made a successful take-off.

The airmen were extended a cordial and official welcome by Commissioner George MacKenzie at Dawson, but they were anxious to be on their way, and they left the hospitality of that city on the 19th, reaching Fairbanks in Alaskan territory late in the afternoon.

(They did not set a flying precedent in Alaska, as a pioneer American pilot, James V. Martin, had flown at Fairbanks years before. He had shipped his plane from Seattle to that northern town and became the first airman to fly at any near-Arctic point on the American continent on July 4, 1913.)

The expedition headed for Ruby, Alaska, on the 20th, staying there the week end, and on the 23rd the final lap was covered which took them to their goal at Nome. At 5.30 p.m. the four machines came to a stop on the old parade grounds at Fort Davis, on the very threshold of the Bering Sea.

Four thousand five hundred miles of flying lay behind them, accomplished in fifty-five hours of flying time, over an elapsed time of forty days.

Even so, only half of their job had then been completed, and as they were anxious to be on the move again, they did not dally long by that northern shore. On August 26 they said good-bye to Nome at 3.30 p.m. to set a course in a southerly direction for the first time since the start of their flight on July 15.

They were back at Ruby before dusk, and had reached Fairbanks by the 31st, at which point the four aircraft and engines were given a thorough check up in readiness for the gruelling test the pilots realized was in store over the great wilderness of forest and mountains.

They left for Dawson on September 3, arriving at their destination within a few minutes of each other, all decked out with souvenirs of their Alaska visit, including two Husky pups snugly tucked away in Kirkpatrick's machine.

Early fall storms were now beginning to brew up a stiff challenge to the intrepid airmen, but they reached Whitehorse on the 4th. Bad weather then settled in with a vengeance and, although they left on the 5th with the intention of flying to Telegraph Creek, B.C., violent winds and snow-storms forced them to land at Atlin en route. They were extremely fortunate in finding a sufficiently clear space in that rugged country in which to land.

Streett telegraphed from Atlin to Telegraph Creek, asking for notification when the weather cleared. On the 8th a good report came through and the four planes hopped off at once. Three were able to penetrate only as far as Nahlin, about half way, before menacing weather beat them back, and they were forced to return to Atlin to again bide their time. This was all going on over some of the wildest country northern Canada has to offer.

Kirkpatrick became separated from the others, and after flying for four hours he turned up at Wrangell. It was not an accident on his part, but very fine navigation under the worst of conditions. (The facts were that on the journey north he had met a young lady at Wrangell, and admiration had been mutual.) This gallant young pilot lost his life in the United States in 1926 during a forced landing in a blizzard.

Members of the expedition surrounded by admirers at Dawson, Y.T. Capt. Streett stands between Commissioner and Mrs. MacKenzie. Henriques is on the commissioner's right. ***H. W. Firth***

The weather cleared sufficiently on the 9th for the three D.H.s at Atlin to fly to Telegraph Creek, where they landed on a hay-field of the Diamond C Ranch, twelve miles down stream on the Stikine River from the village itself. Crumrine's machine suffered a wrecked undercarriage, and the next day Capt. Streett and Lieut. Nutt left for Wrangell aboard the launch *Hazel B*, which happened to be up-river at the time. When they had returned with spare parts, two attempts were made to fly to Hazelton, but dense cloud formations forced them to abandon both efforts.

In the meantime Kirkpatrick had left Wrangell on the 16th in clear weather, but the three De Havillands at Telegraph Creek were not so lucky. Not until September 29 did they get away. While they were earthbound, an ingenious method was used to send weather reports from the telegraph office at Telegraph Creek to the airmen at the ranch. A man was stationed at a specified time each day on a hilltop near the office, and another man was placed on another hill near the Diamond C Ranch. If weather reports became favourable, the first man was instructed to set off a charge of dynamite, and this, seen or heard by the next fellow miles away, prompted him in turn to set off a similar blast, so that Streett and his fellow airmen would know it was all right to go. As things turned out, they had a long wait before the welcome echoes of the "go ahead" explosion reached their ears.

Being alone and ahead of the others, there was no point in Kirkpatrick waiting for them, and missing good weather doing it, so he carried on to Prince George, and then to Jasper and Edmonton, and he had reached Saskatoon on the same date the three others left the ranch and flew to Hazelton.

Machines Nos. 1, 2 and 3 eventually reached Edmonton together on October 8, after taking a terrific beating from snow and storm most of the way from the Pacific coast, and on the 10th they landed at Saskatoon, to reach Fargo, N.D., on the 11th. Kirkpatrick had crossed at the same point on October 1, his being the first of the four machines to arrive back in the United States. He awaited the others along the way, and when they caught up to him they all continued to New York, where the flight officially ended at Mitchell Field on October 20, 1920.

The aircraft were much the worse for wear after their magnificent journey, but all of the men were in good physical condition and highly elated with the success of the project, which had required 112 hours of flying time, spread over 97 thrill-packed adventurous days.

From the date of their departure from New York on July 15, 9,000 air miles had slipped past beneath their wings before they again reached Mitchell Field.

On October 27, the airmen were officially congratulated at Bolling Field, D.C., when General Pershing, representing the United States government, extended his personal greetings as well, the affair being attended by many other high ranking officers of the United States Army and Army Air Service.

In his report of the flight, one statement made by Captain Streett stands out very clearly: . . . "The air route to Alaska is not feasible until air fields are made along that route. . . ." Many years passed before such a chain of airports became an actuality. United Air Transport Limited, organized by Grant McConachie, began charter flying to the Yukon in 1934, operating to Whitehorse from Edmonton via fields established at Fort St. John, Nelson and Watson Lakes. Reorganized in 1936 as the Yukon Southern Air Transport, it put a full service into effect, and on July 7, 1937, the first scheduled air mail was flown from Edmonton to Whitehorse in a company machine piloted by the president, Grant McConachie. August 20 saw the run extended to Dawson.

In 1939 the Canadian government set aside an appropriation for a survey of the route already in use, with the object of establishing larger landing fields, but not until the Canada-U.S. Permanent Joint Board on Defence was appointed in 1940 did actual construction work on the project begin. Due to the rugged nature of the country, transport facilities for equipment to the interior areas was very slow. Thus it was February, 1941, before the first tractor train left Dawson Creek for Fort Nelson. The essential development therefore was well under way when the United States entered the war against Japan. As soon as the Alaska highway was completed by November 1942, transit difficulties to the different air field areas became a thing of the past. The chain of huge fields was then completed, and the Northwest Staging Route became an established fact.

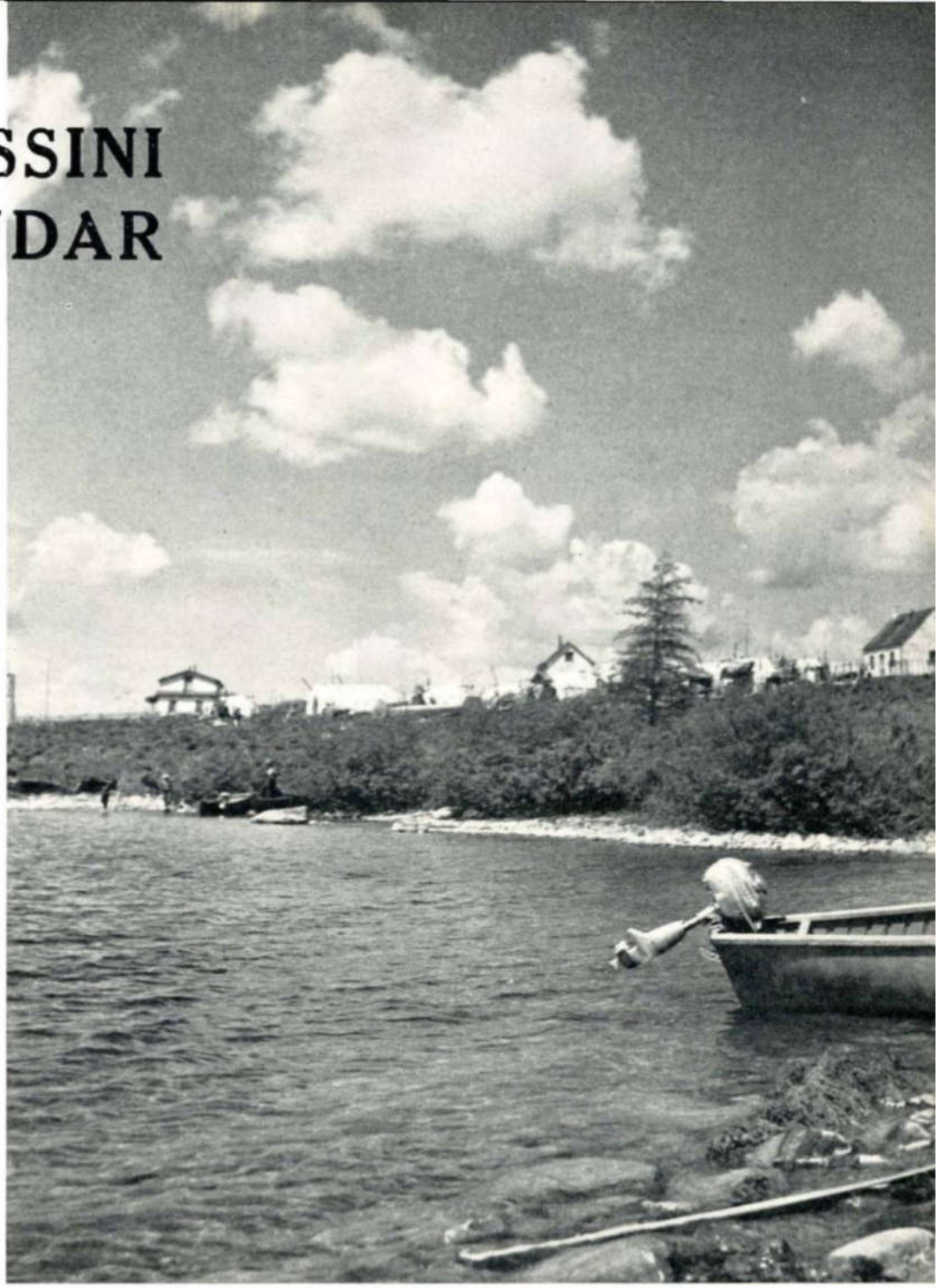
The vast amount of air-borne traffic which flew the route during the war, and the continued use of the route since, must be a source of great satisfaction to the seven members of the First Alaska Air Expedition who are now alive. The route most assuredly should be dedicated as a memorial to those pioneers, to act as a tangible and everlasting reminder of the valiant airmen who first accomplished it.

General Pershing congratulates Capt. Streett at the official welcome held at Bolling Field, D.C., in October 1920. ***U.S. Army Signal Corps***

MISTASSINI CALENDAR

Story and Pictures
by Jacques Rousseau
(Except where noted)

A year in the life of a Mistassini Indian brings plenty of variety, from braving the hardships of winter travel to dozing in the summer sun.



The population of Mistassini Post is about six hundred in the summer, but only a handful in the winter. *O. R. Burger*

THERE used to be a time when the Algonkian tribes controlled the St. Lawrence. When Cartier travelled up the river in 1535, however, they had been somewhat displaced by Indians of Huron-Iroquois stock, who were then masters of the whole country from the Great Lakes to Quebec. The coming of European civilization to Eastern America contributed further to displace the former owners of the country. Nevertheless, the hunting Indians of Quebec's northern forests—Montagnais, Naskapi, Tête-de-boule, Algonquins, Mistassini and others of Cree affinity—all of the Algonkian linguistic family, still occupy the greater part of the Quebec triangle.

Extremely disseminated, they inhabit a territory as large as France, though their numbers do not now exceed 5,500, and probably never surpassed 10,000. As opposed to the farmer, the hunter needs a large territory to contribute to his needs. On a small scale map of Quebec, it would be easy to mark the place of each Indian tent during the winter months, their season of activity.

These Indians are considered as nomadic, a qualification which appears to be grossly exaggerated. No doubt the caribou hunter in northern Ungava pursues the caribou in winter, and for this reason does not live within the limits of a given territory. He is truly nomadic. But the Mistassini people, and the majority of forest Indians, live within well defined limits. During the summer they assemble normally at the same post. In winter they will always head for the same

Right: While she works, the mother rocks her sleeping baby with a cord attached to the cradle thongs. Below: Indian children outside the usual type of tent seen at Mistassini to-day. Note the spruce bough floor.

tract of land covered in previous seasons. As they have no permanently built dwelling, the tent may not necessarily be put up in precisely the same spot as during a former sojourn, but at least it will be within a very limited distance from it. We should refer to them as a migratory people, not a nomadic one.

If we compare the life of the hunting Indian with that of the city business man, a certain parallel, although more or less in contraposition, would strike us. From the beginning of fall to the end of spring, both are on the watch: the former hunting fur animals, the latter in search of prospective customers. All activity is centred on production. During summer, the rest period, the Indian plays at business, the business man turns his attention partly to fishing and, a little later, hunting.

Let us start the yearly cycle with early summer. Towards the end of May or the beginning of June, the scattered population takes leave of the forest: the head of the family at the stern of the canoe, the wife at the bow, both paddling along, with children, dunnage, food and dogs between them. From all directions, they head for the post of Mistassini. From the Temiskamie River, from the main body of Lake Mistassini, from Neoskweskau, from Nichikun Lake, they all come and, with ten to twenty days of canoeing behind them, reach their destination.

The location of the post is best described as a clearing in the subarctic forest by the shore of a bay. Until break-up, it is merely a desert where old beddings of rust-colored spruce and fir boughs, and the remnants of old camp fires, bear witness to the throngs which formerly dwelt there. The Hudson's Bay Company store, the house of the manager, the house of a free trader, two or three tents of Indians who wintered on the spot, are the only dwellings which show any sign of life, as can be judged by the smoke issuing from the chimneys.

The arrival of the Indians changes all this. Out of the silence arises a turmoil of sounds, the babbling of children, the chattering of women, the laughter of men, the chopping of wood. In a few days, three long rows of tents have altered completely the physical appearance of the post. From a dozen or two individuals, the population has miraculously increased to six hundred.

Months passed in solitude have given rise to new hopes. Matured by months of silence, the youngsters discover that former gawky girls have become desirable women. In a matter of days, the joint wedding ceremony of fifteen new couples indicates that in the near future fifteen new tents will illuminate the darkness with their diffuse light. The whole day will be given over to festivities: a banquet of bannock, bear's grease, pancakes and tea, with speeches, drumming and dancing to follow.

The purpose of the summer sojourn at the post, apart from its social aspects and advantages, is fur trading. Part of the catch has already been traded during the winter, as fur traders now visit the hunters by plane. The main business, however, is still carried out at the post in summer. Furs are evaluated at market price. If the hunter agrees, credit is immediately assigned to him in the big book. The time has now come to buy the chief commodities for his family. A few purchases, the necessity of which is rather doubtful, are also included. Is it not a holiday after the hardships of winter? Long months of subsisting on the strictest minimum, after all, entitle one for a time to some diversion. Very often some good hunters, with the help of their families can earn $1000 to $2000 with their winter hunting. Naturally, all this is not debt free. Before returning to the bush in the fall, they become indebted through the purchase of their winter's supply of flour, lard, sugar, tea, baking powder, cartridges, guns, tin stoves, soap and clothing. If they have had a good hunting season, they will apply their first returns to erase the debt.

Formerly, supplies sold at Mistassini post were carried from James Bay via the Rupert's River by a brigade of canoes. This long and expensive trip was abandoned with the improvement of conditions. The canoe route from Oskelaneo, a station on the Montreal-Abitibi railroad, via a series of lakes and rivers, proved less expensive. Until only a few years ago, bulky material was transported this way. Representatives of each family annually went to Oskelaneo to obtain a part of their own supplies and, at the same time, carry material for the store, receiving a compensation based on the weight of the load. Planes are also used to carry a part of the material from Roberval to the post. The trip by air imposed a mark up of the price of each item at the rate of fifteen cents per pound. The use of Canso aircraft subsequently reduced this charge. When the road from Lake St. John to Chibougamau is finished, the transportation by plane will be greatly shortened and the price of the goods bought by the natives reduced accordingly.

The Oskelaneo trip, three to four weeks, is the main pastime of the summer. There is little variety in the others. Except for the annual feasting at the time of marriages in the beginning of summer, and the election of a chief every third year, recreation consists mainly in chatting with neighbours, visiting the store for purchases, or merely for the sake of a change, attending religious services held by the catechist or the missionary, and an occasional burial. There is nothing like this to lessen the monotony of time. Meals also happily divide the days, and these are occasionally rendered more enjoyable by the serving of butter, jam, cocoa, macaroni, cheese or other choice tid-bits which are not to be had in the bush. Even bannock is occasionally sweetened and made almost a delicacy by the addition of raisins.

Observing women chopping wood and carrying fir or spruce boughs to replace the old ones of the tent floor, the occasional traveller would think that the Indian husband is lazy and leaves the burden to women. This impression is entirely false. There are, of course, lazy people among the Indians as there are

Animal skulls placed on a pole, and a trout head on a stick, invoke the spirits of the departed owners. The fish line is placed there to bring good luck before it is used.

The Big Rock (*mista assini*, colloquially) near the Rupert's River portage, from which Lake Mistassini takes its name.

among the white. The impression of an Indian visiting our city homes would doubtless also be that only women work in our midst. With Indians, as with white people, domestic work is mainly the concern of women. Listed amongst these duties is the chopping of wood, which is merely child's play in the opinion of Indian women. During the summer recreation—and it is only then that white people generally meet the Indians—men will very often devote a great part of their time to rest, a rest which they have deserved. During the spring and the fall migrations, men have the toughest part of the portages. During winter, while the wife stays in the permanent tent, the husband and older sons will spend days, and even weeks, travelling on snowshoes through the tangled forest, visiting traps on the coldest days, dragging the toboggan through the deep snow and smarting for hours under the whip of blizzards. And generally with a minimum of food. Winter hunting is rough work, and in many instances proves exhaustive.

At the summer camp, life flows on. The long sunsets decrease day by day, punctuated by the continued whining and howling of starving dogs, dreary and inhuman, like the complaint of dying men. In the middle of August, the chilly nights make wood a welcome commodity in the stove. A few days more and the aspens will change into their golden robes. The Nichikuns, from the territory farthest away, hear the call of the woods: "Fall is running out, and frost will soon set its traps." All the narrow brooks, which, from portage to portage, will carry them to their hunting ground, must be left far behind before the cold nights seize them in their icy grip. The Temiskamie, Neoskweskau and Mistassini groups follow, and after a night of drumming, tents collapse and long lines of canoes leave the post.

In a day, with paddle or improvised sail, or in a few hours with a "kicker," they reach the end of Abatagouche Bay, at the entrance of the main body of Lake Mistassini. Caution here! Some evil genius protects Manitounouk Island, and it is better to wait a few days before crossing the big lake rather than risk braving the waves. Happily, when canoes lie turned over on the beach, a good cup of strong black tea, a couple of times each day between meals, shortens the period of inactivity and helps to resist cold winds.

A few days later, each family has reached its winter precincts, which are separated from the next neighbour's by some thirty to fifty miles of lake and forest. In the caches, built so as to be inaccessible to the

Carving a wooden "fish spoon" with a crooked knife or *mocotaugan*. The wooden handle is made by the owner.

ravages of animals, they find their traps and other belongings left there last spring. Snow starts to fall soon, and the stove in the tent is sufficient to fight against extreme colds. Even when temperatures outdoors are below zero, the roaring fire within can bring the temperature in the tent to 85°.

During winter, all the lakes freeze, even Lake Mistassini, and may be crossed on snowshoes. Freezing of the lake surface however does not prevent fishing. With the use of many holes in the ice, the natives can employ their fishing nets. The Mistassini Indians are great fishermen. Fish is an important part of their diet in winter as well as in summer. Whitefish and lake trout are favoured.

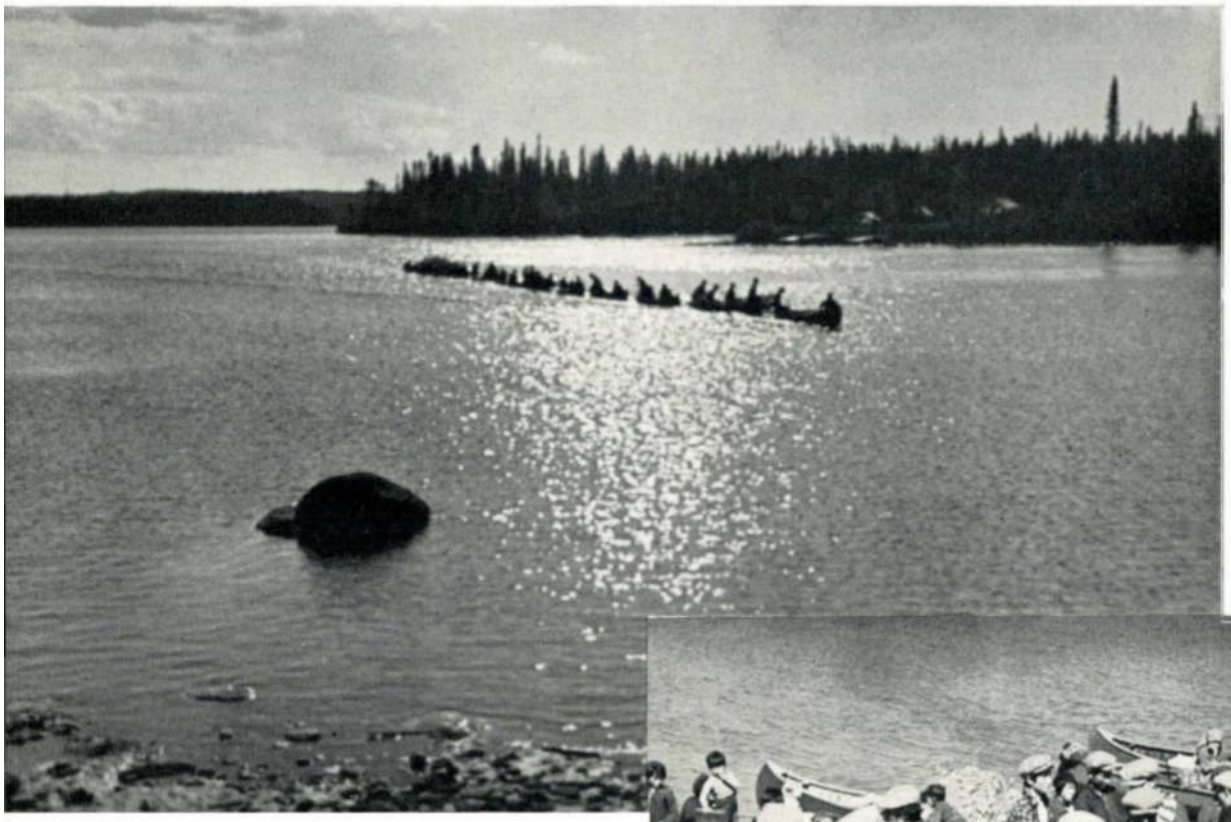
With the successive visits to traps, furs, mainly of beaver, dark mink of high grade, lynx, otter, marten, ermine, muskrat, squirrel and fox, will accumulate. Ermine and squirrel are often left for women and children to trap around the tent. Once in a while, a hunter will kill a bear, a moose in the southern part of the territory, or a caribou in the northern sector, but this happens only occasionally. The yellow water lily, a vital food staple for moose, has its northern limit in our area, at Lake Mistassini, and consequently is rare there. On the other hand, the caribou moss (really a lichen, not a moss) of constant occurrence in the northern tundra is far from common around Lake Mistassini. For such reasons, Lake Mistassini is almost outside the range of either moose or caribou.

After the removal of the dwelling, just before thawing, so as to avoid the winter accumulation of dirt, the natives await in readiness the break up, and the annual cycle recommences.

Everyone remarks how far from expansive Indians are when returning after long months away from the post. When people meet after long periods of isolation, the show of some enthusiasm at least, it seems, would not be out of place. But it is only after a very

quiet and almost impassive meeting that there appears to be room for expression of sentiment. Contrary to what we have read about Indian impassivity, the Indian does not differ on that count so much from the white man. He can be just as sentimental as the latter. He likes to joke and laugh and enjoy life. But the Indian is most discreet and will not easily show his feelings when white people are present. Only when they forget us completely will they become their uninhibited selves. Nevertheless, it is a fact that after a long absence they are always slow to give vent to joy.

After my first sojourn in the wilderness and solitude of Lake Mistassini, I found an explanation for such an attitude. I now understand the long silence which comes over those who return from expeditions. With a colleague and four Indians, we had spent many weeks in the wilderness without the slightest contact with civilization, not even by radio, or a living soul outside the members of the party. We finally approached the Little Narrows, where six hundred Indians were encamped for the summer. The point passed, the rows of tents suddenly came into view. My colleague and I had thought that the return to civilization would be celebrated by an expression of joy; but we too were silent, much like the Indian after a long absence. I now understand this silence, this impassivity. It is caused by a certain anxiety. The great joy of meeting one's own family is shrouded in an anguish of uncertainty. What will be the news from home? What, in a moment, will fall on our heads after so many days? But when long-awaited letters have been hurriedly read through, a smile erases the wrinkles of anxiety and, like the Indians, we too start shaking hands with everybody.



Long lines of paddle canoes towed by outboards approach the post in the spring. These are the Nichikuns, the last to arrive.

Photos by S. Crone

As each new band arrives, everyone shakes hands with them. Now the toil and hardship and danger of a winter in the wilderness is over for another season.

HBC and VANCOUVER'S ISLAND

by B. A. McKelvie

Behind the establishment of Vancouver Island as a Crown Colony lay a tense international drama, and a great story of loyalty.

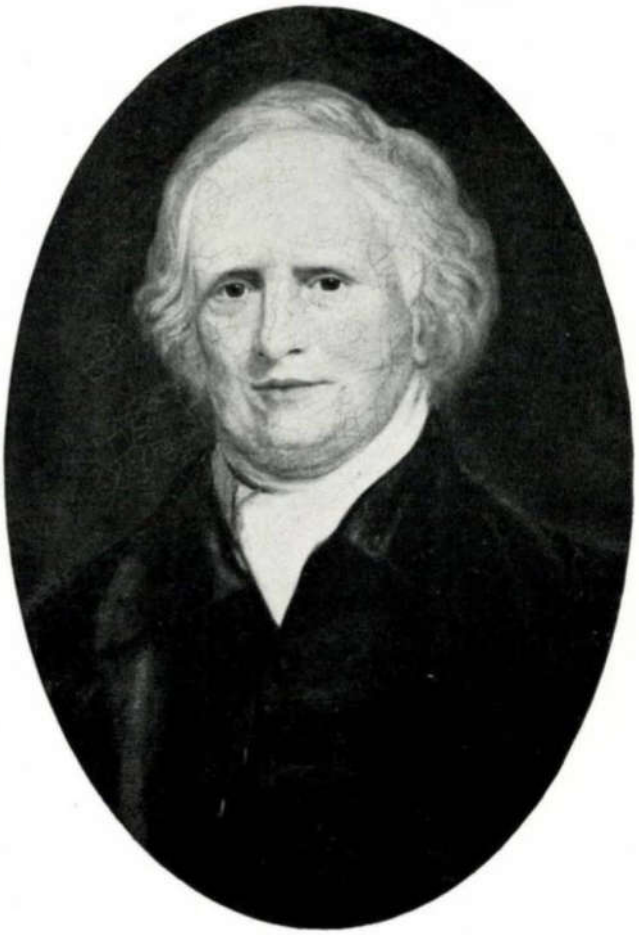
ONE hundred years ago, on September 17, 1849, the mail packet paddle steamer *Avon* splashed down the Thames from London and headed out to sea on her way to the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico. Amongst her passengers was a handsome young lawyer, Richard Blanshard, who carried with him the royal commission and official instructions as governor of the newly created Crown Colony of Vancouver's Island.

There was nothing unusual about this departure, from the centre of the vast and ever expanding domains of young Queen Victoria, of a fledgling executive on his way to inaugurate governmental institutions in some remote corner of the Empire. But behind the establishment of this particular colony lay a tense international drama and ambitious plans for the future. There was, as well, a great story of loyalty and imperial service on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Vancouver's Island had been formed as a separate colonial entity, under circumstances that were most unusual, to meet a pressing national need, and the duties and responsibilities of administration had been entrusted to the Company. There is no analogy—not even in the case of the East India Company—for the conditions under which the Company undertook to act as god-mother to a community yet to be formed. The Hudson's Bay Company was not primarily interested in colonization and land settlement; indeed such things were inimical to a continuance of the fur trade; but at the request of the Government the Company agreed to assume these duties without "pecuniary profit" and simply as a public service.

Why the Hudson's Bay Company never permitted the true position that it took at the time to reach the general public, and suffered detractors, for political purposes, to present a different picture, is hard to realize today. Official correspondence between the Company and the Colonial Office shows that the Governor and Committee were actuated by patriotic purposes, rather than by sordid objectives—as their critics insinuated.

The territory west of the Rocky Mountains and north of latitude 42° to the Russian possessions at 54° 40′ had been jointly occupied by Great Britain and United States since the close of the War of 1812-14. Little was known of the country behind Vancouver's Island since the summer when Captain George Vancouver had first circumnavigated the island that bears his name. During the negotiations preceding the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, the suggestion was made that the country be divided between the Empire and the Republic by the 49th parallel extended from the Rocky Mountains to the sea. This would have divided Vancouver's Island and would have made the Strait of Juan de Fuca a United States waterway. So little



Sir John Henry Pelly, Governor of the H B C, who conducted the negotiations with the Colonial Office for the grant of Vancouver's Island.

was the country known—even the position of the Fraser River's mouth was in doubt—that it was finally agreed it should be jointly occupied for ten years, when an extension of mutual control should be extended if agreed upon for an additional decade, and for as much longer a time as desirable.

The Hudson's Bay Company, merging with the North West Company in 1821, gave immediate attention to the situation on the Pacific. The coastline jointly occupied was the only part of the entire littoral of the Pacific from Cape Horn to Bering Sea where Great Britain had any claims—and they were not too secure. Governor George Simpson, following discussions between the Foreign Office and the Company in London, made a trip to the Columbia River in 1824. In his journal of that journey edited by Merk in *Fur Trade and Empire* the tenor of the discussions in London are reflected. The first thing that Simpson did was to send a winter expedition to discover the Fraser's mouth and select an eligible location for a post. It was planned to occupy this river in

the event that the Company had to retire from the Columbia when the boundary was eventually established. Similarly, in keeping with the talks with the British Government, a new headquarters was built on the north bank of the Columbia and Fort George or Astoria became but an outpost. The new establishment planned on a grand scale was honoured with the name of Vancouver. This move, it was hoped, might later assist in determining the border line along the great river. But by 1840, Oregon was filling with immigrants from the eastern United States, who were loud in their claims that the country belonged to the Republic. It was then that Sir George Simpson determined to prepare further measures for holding the whole of Vancouver's Island. Instructions were given by the Council of 1841 that Chief Factor James Douglas was to explore the southern end of Vancouver's Island for a new establishment. One reason, in addition to others, why this should be done was that it might be available if the country north of the Columbia was ceded to the United States in the approaching negotiations for settlement of the boundary line.

This brief sketch must suffice, as there is no space available for an extended discussion of the "54-40 controversy." It is only necessary to add that Great Britain—contrary to all historical misapprehensions—won a decided victory when, on June 15, 1846, the boundary treaty was concluded, acknowledging British sovereignty over the territory to the north of latitude 49°, and over the whole of Vancouver's Island, with the joint use of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, thus giving a corridor for British shipping to the second great river of the West, the Fraser.

The settlement of the dispute with the United States created many problems. One of them was the matter of land tenure. The Hudson's Bay Company had been the sole occupiers of the territory that had been definitely awarded to Great Britain. Numerous forts had been constructed, lands had been brought under cultivation and law and order had been well maintained amongst the natives. What was to happen now? Would strangers be permitted to repeat what had happened in Oregon, and settle upon lands that had been tilled for the maintenance of the Company's servants? The Company wished to know. So it was that Sir John Pelly, Bart., Governor of the Company, wrote to Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, under date of September 7, 1846:

> The treaty for the division of the Oregon territory having been concluded, I conceive that all questions respecting the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all other British subjects who may be already in the occupation of lands or other property [south of the border] . . . will be referred to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but that questions relating to settlement in the territory on the north side of the boundary line (now exclusively British) will belong to the Colonial Department over which your Lordship presides.
>
> Assuming that I am right in that opinion, I now address your Lordship with the view of ascertaining the intentions of Her Majesty's Government as to the acquisition of lands, or formation of settlements, to the north of latitude 49.
>
> The Hudson's Bay Company having formed an establishment on the southern point of Vancouver's Island, which they are annually enlarging, are anxious to know whether they will be confirmed in possession of such lands, as they may find it expedient to add to those which they already possess.
>
> With regard to the question of trade, your Lordship is aware that the Company, by a grant from the Crown, dated May 13, 1838, have the exclusive right of trading with the natives of the countries west of the Rocky Mountains for 21 years from that date.

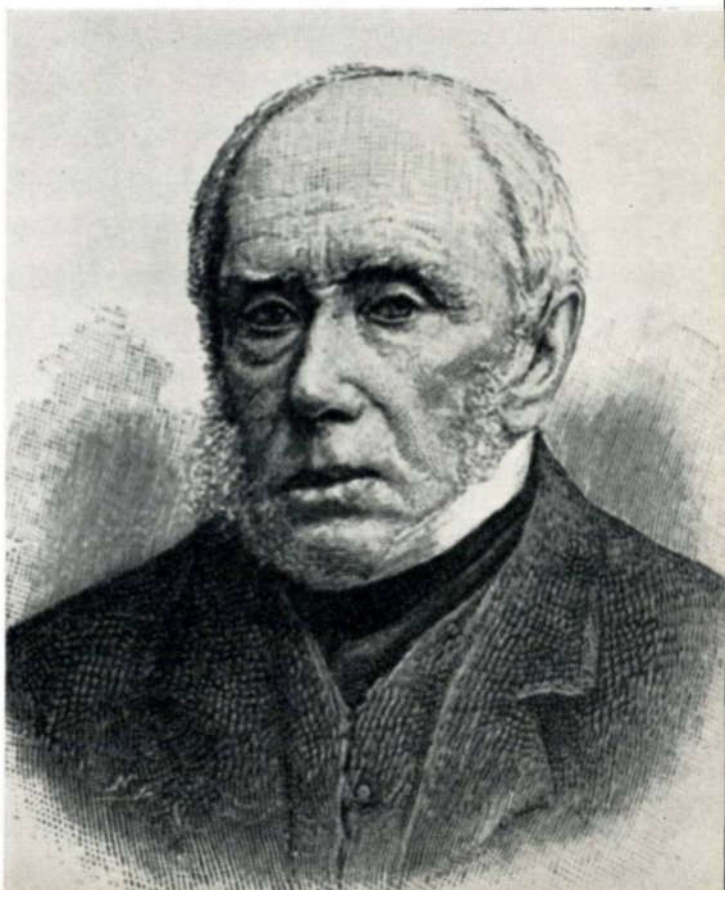
This letter, asking the simple question of explanation of governmental intentions, started a long negotiation that eventuated in the establishment of the colony under the guidance of the Company. Earl Grey, through Benjamin Hawes, M.P., Under Secretary for the Colonies, replied on October 3, 1846, asking what extent of territory was included in the lands to which the Governor of the Company had reference. He also asked for proof that the Hudson's Bay Company, under its charter, could receive and hold lands from the Crown to the west of the Rockies. This point was satisfactorily established by legal authorities.

The reply of Sir John Pelly to the request for information, dated October 24, 1846, at Hudson's Bay House, is significant, as showing that the Governor and Committee were anxious only to establish title to the southern end of Vancouver's Island, extending from Cadboro Point to Sooke.

It was a modest request in view of the vastness of the domain that had but recently been confirmed to Great Britain, and particularly in view of the important part played by the Company in establishing Britain's claim to it. Earl Grey so considered it, at least. His main worry was as to the legality of the Company holding lands on the Pacific slope. Under date of December 14, 1846, Mr. Hawes wrote to Sir John Pelly:

> Lord Grey is unable to announce any decision of Her Majesty's Government, with regard to the colonization of the Oregon territory. . . . Lord Grey further instructs me to state that he is prepared to assent on Her Majesty's behalf, to your proposal that certain lands in Vancouver's Island, or in other parts of the Oregon territory, should be granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; but before making that grant his Lordship would require the production, by the Company, of an opinion from Her Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, to the effect that the acceptance by the Company of such a grant would be consistent with their charter of incorporation.

Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, who represented the British Government in the negotiations.
B. C. Archives



Negotiations continued. The Government was obviously at some difficulty to know just how to deal with the problems of settlement and control of the wilderness. It was on March 5, 1847, that Sir John Pelly said to Earl Grey:

> . . . I beg leave to say that should Her Majesty's ministers be of opinion that the territory in question would be more conveniently governed and colonized (as far as that may be practicable) through the Hudson's Bay Company, the Company are willing to undertake it, and will be ready to receive a grant of all the territories belonging to the Crown which are situate to the north and west of Rupert's Land . . .

The future of the newly acquired country was the subject of considerable political attacks at the time. In parliament the Company was criticised and was pictured as grasping and greedy. Different proposals were made for developing Vancouver's Island, and particularly in view of the knowledge that coal existed on the island. Among other proposals made to the Government was a petition from 15,000 Mormons, resident in the United Kingdom, for a grant of the island, while another was from John Shillinlaw, of London, who wished to promote coal mining.

It was not until February 28, 1848, that a written reply was received to the offer to manage the whole of what was later to become British Columbia. Then Mr. Hawes informed Sir John Pelly:

> . . . In an interview which Lord Grey had with you subsequently to that application, you were informed that the proposal you had made was too extensive for Her Majesty's Government to entertain.
>
> I am now directed by his Lordship that if you are prepared to submit another scheme which should be more limited and definite in its object and yet embrace a plan for the colonization and government of Vancouver's Island, Her Majesty's Government will be ready to give their immediate and attentive consideration to such a proposal. Assuming that in any negotiation that may take place on the subject, the value of coal at Vancouver's Island will necessarily form a material consideration on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, Lord Grey directs me to send you the copy of an agreement recently entered into with Mr. Wise, from which you will learn the terms on which the Government have granted a lease to that gentleman of the coal at Labuan and which may possibly serve as a guide to any proposal which the Company may think proper to make for working the coal at Vancouver's Island. . . .

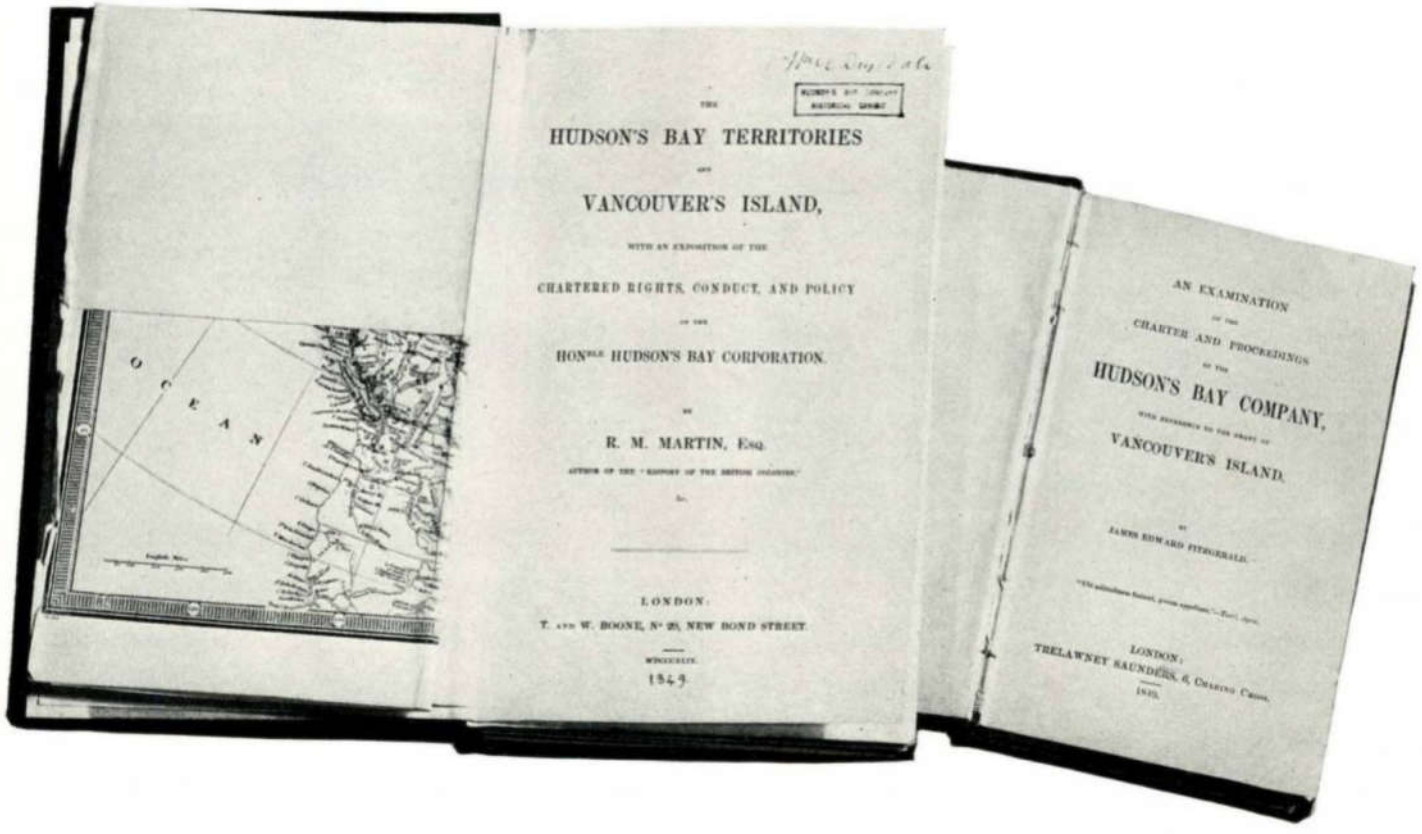
In reply to the foregoing, on March 4, 1848, Sir John made it abundantly clear that the Company was not seeking to rule vast territories in expectation of profit, but simply as a matter of public service. The Company was willing to reduce the area in question to

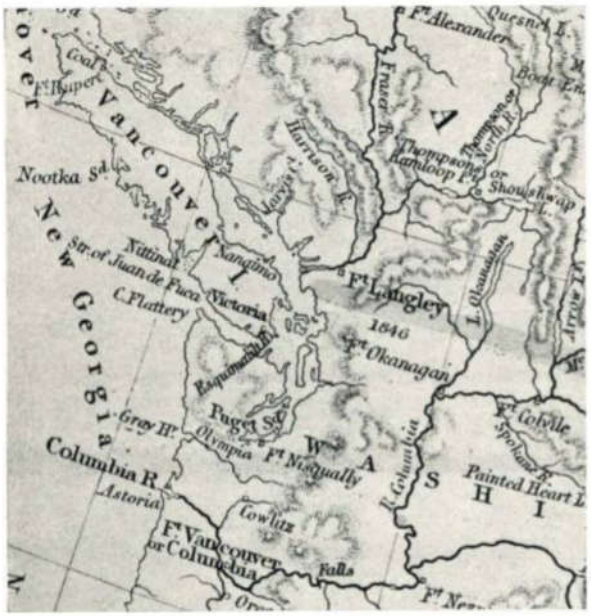
> even Vancouver's Island alone. In fact, the Company are ready and willing to give every assistance in their power to promote colonization, and in any way in which your Lordship may be of opinion that their service can be made available towards that important object.

While the Company was ready and willing to give every assistance to the Crown in establishing a colony on Vancouver's Island, Sir John and the Committee were not prepared to see the proposed colony bled for the advantage of the imperial treasury. In taking a firm stand against the payment of royalties on coal to London they preserved at the very outset of Government the revenues on natural resources for the use of the local administration. It was in the same letter that the following explicit objection to payment of royalties to the parent government appeared:

> In that part of Mr. Hawes's letter in which it is assumed that the value of the coal in Vancouver's Island will form a material consideration on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company in any negotiation that may take place on this subject, I have only to observe that the Company expect no pecuniary advantage from colonizing the territory in question. All monies received from land or minerals would be applied to purposes connected with the improvement of the country, and, therefore, if the grant is to be clogged with any payment to the Mother country, the company would be under the necessity of declining it.

Two books dealing with the grant of Vancouver's Island in 1849. Martin was in favour of it, Fitzgerald against it.





Part of a map of 1857. The word "Coal" at the north end of the Island shows the location of the deposits mentioned here.

In a private letter to Earl Grey, of the same date, Sir John stressed the national aspect of the proposals made to manage territories for the Crown. The westward expansion of the United States created a threat:

> I am very glad to learn that your Lordship is exceedingly anxious for the colonization of Vancouver's Island [he wrote]. I have no doubt that your Lordship, as a statesman, must feel the importance of a settlement in this part of the Pacific, where Great Britain has none, and the Americans, having one already at Wallamette, are preparing to take measures establishing another on the opposite side of the Strait to Vancouver's Island, and are building large steamers for communication with the district. I shall not occupy your Lordship's time by offering my views on the nationality [*sic*] of the object any further than to say they are in accordance with those of your Lordship. Such being the case, the Company would accept of any grant, even for the island of Vancouver alone, to effect the object.

Negotiations were nearing a conclusion, but before the grant was finally made, the Government became jittery under further political attacks, as witness the letter of September 3, 1848, from Benjamin Hawes to Sir John. Lord Grey, said Hawes, felt that a formal condition should be introduced into the grant, stating "that the Hudson's Bay Company will be prepared to sell land to persons desiring to settle in Vancouver's Island on reasonable terms, and that the whole price received for the land so disposed of by them, together with any receipts on account of coals or other minerals, should after making a fair deduction, for profit to the Company, on the captial invested in this undertaking, be applied to the colonization and improvement of Vancouver's Island." Grey further suggested that a deduction of ten percent from the gross receipts from lands and minerals would be a fair remuneration to the Company, and that the rest should be devoted either to sending out emigrants or providing roads and buildings.

On September 9, Sir John replied that he had "no objection to the introduction of the condition into the grant."

So it was that the grant was finally drawn and issued on January 13, 1849. The Hudson's Bay Company had nothing to gain; no hopes for great profits, such as had featured the administration of the East India Company in its government of India—only service to the Crown.

There was no expectation even of gratitude by officers of the Company, as witness the remarks of Donald Ross, writing to his old friend James Douglas, from Norway House, July 31, 1849, congratulating Douglas on his appointment as Governor:

> The transfer of Vancouver's Island to the Compy. seems however to have let loose a whole nest of hornets about our ears—the Company & we too as members of it, are shown up to the gaping & astonished public, both in Europe & America, as a set of atrocious grasping Tyrants worshipping no other deity than Sordid pelf & grinding down the unfortunate Natives with unrelenting perseverance, almost to total annihilation!! — Well, well, "the longer we live the more we learn" . . . we have been accustomed to consider ourselves generally as a class of well disposed inoffensive plodding men, quietly and honestly conducting a business of no very great profit—which exposed us through a long course of years to many hardships privations & discomforts unknown to civilized life.

The Hudson's Bay Company had been asked to nominate a governor for the Crown Colony. It was suggested that Chief Factor James Douglas, who was more familiar with the country than any other person, be given temporary appointment as first chief executive. This was agreeable to the Government, Mr. Hawes writing, September 27, 1848:

> . . . Lord Grey sees no objection to the appointment of the chief factor of the Company as a temporary arrangement, although his Lordship apprehends that the issuing for that purpose will be attended by some additional expense.

So determined was the Home Government that it should be put to no expense on behalf of the colony, that it was holding the Company responsible for the cost of issuing the commission to the Queen's representative.

Douglas was informed that his name had been put forward and he could expect to be the first governor. The fact was told to others in the service, and his old friends of the service, like Donald Ross, wrote to him offering their congratulations. But the Company had not counted upon the lack of courage on the part of the government of the day, for later Earl Grey told the Company that it was feared there would be political repercussions if Mr. Douglas was appointed to office—he was too closely identified with the Company's affairs west of the Rockies. It was suggested that another name be put in nomination.

In keeping with this request, Mr. Douglas was informed that he would not be governor, but that the Company would pay him the amount that it was intended he should receive for the extra work of that office. On June 13, 1849, the Governor and Committee passed a minute: "Resolved that Richard Blanshard Esq. be recommended to Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to be appointed Govr. of Vancouver's Island."

Mr. Blanshard was sufficiently unknown to the political critics of Westminster to assure the Government that it was unlikely that his appointment would cause any demonstration in Parliament.

And so it was that when the packet steamer *Avon* waddled down the Thames that September day one hundred years ago, she carried young Mr. Blanshard armed with his commission and official instructions, and conscious of the dignity of being the governor and commander-in-chief of the newest of British crown colonies.

LETTERS OUTWARD 1679-94

A review of the eleventh volume of the Hudson's Bay Record Society

by R. O. MacFarlane

THIS volume contains 344 pages of letters outward, and two appendices consisting of notes on the chief posts of the Company in the Bay, and on the prominent servants of the Company. There is an able introduction by Prof. Eva G. R. Taylor of the University of London. The letters outward supplement the minutes of the Company and illustrate the carrying into effect of the decisions which were reached at the various committee meetings.

In the introduction Professor Taylor is critical of the monopoly of the Company:

> That a handful of noblemen and merchants merely by advancing a few hundred pounds apiece could become Lords and Proprietors of some three million square miles of unexplored territory, besides having the exclusive use of half a million or so square miles of the sea, with the addition of further privileges should this territory or sea (as was confidently expected) embrace a passage by land and water to the Far East, was a situation that excited less public remark in 1670 than it might do today.

There is ample evidence throughout the letters of the zeal with which the Company endeavoured to enforce that trade monopoly. In the instructions for Capt. Zachariah Gillam of the *Prince Rupert* they refer to "private trade by which you know we have been formerly very great sufferers." And Henry Sergeant in 1683 was instructed to declare all persons who were being returned home in order that arrangements could be made to have their baggage searched before they came on shore, lest there should be some contraband items contained therein. In a letter to Sergeant in May 1686 the Company revealed how far it was prepared to go in preventing its servants from engaging in private trade.

> We have had some controversey with some of our Servants that came home last yeare aboute their beavor & Martin skin coates, they alledging the skins were gotten by their owne industrey & some againe presented them by the Indians, both which reasons are to us vaine & frivolous. For what ever comes to our servants hands, whither by the one way or the other, it ought to be esteemed as our owne, for we are at great & vast charges there, we pay for their tyme which is not theirs but ours, & all Goods that comes to their hands is by virtue of our maintaineing them. We know presents from the Indians Doe arrise from presents first from them to the Indians, & what are the presents but of our owne Goods, Therefore judge you to whome all furrs belong.

Professor Taylor admits, however, that in the circumstances there was some ease for the monopoly:

> The strongest point made by the Company on its own behalf was that the peculiar geographical circumstances of the Territory necessitated a somewhat elaborate and expensive organization, and private enterprise would therefore be impossible or ineffective. The trade was of a character that could not "be Maintained or Improved by a single sudden Voyage of any Undertaker, but by the publick Charge of Fortified Forts and Established Factories to abide there, with a constant Correspondency with the Indians."

This point, which is defended here only in theory, was proved a century later to be equally well-founded in fact. Then a wide measure of chaos entered the fur trade of the western country, and brought degradation to the natives as a result of a vigorous price competition which became particularly acute because of the difference in the financial organization of the two major fur trading corporations. The joint stock Company which was the Hudson's Bay was indifferent to its profits this year so long as they were made up next. Its view of the trade tended to be a long one, and the best interests of the natives were served by this long view. The chief competitor, the North West Company, a partnership, was interested in the immediate profit of the trade and consequently took a much shorter view, and was quite satisfied to pursue ruthlessly a cut-throat price war. The Indian was not always a good buyer, and in the long run the higher priced and more durable article proved to be much cheaper than the gaudy or low-priced one which might appear at the moment to be more attractive.

The letters contain much material illustrating the general trade policy of the Company. The nature of instructions, and the degree to which officials were allowed to depart therefrom, are shown in those issued Governor Nixon in 1680:

> Except there be manifest reason to the contrary, of wch. you and the Councill wth. you must be judge, Always giving us the reasons why you have departed from any of our directions. Wee know it is impossible at this distance to give such Orders as shall answer every occurrence and be strictly observed in all points, So that when wee have said all, wee must leave much to your prudent conduct.

Although such latitude was allowed it was off-set by demands for extremely detailed information such as that as was required of John Bridgar in 1683:

> We expect to receive a very exact account from you of all our concernes and perticulerly of what goods you have traded and what remaines wth. you of all sortes of Provissions & stores as well as of goods & Mertchandizes which you must carefully observe to doe every yeare that we may the better know how to suppley you. You are likewise by every returne of our ships to send us a perfect Journall and Dayley account of all things that have occurred worthy of our knowledge.

There is also evidence that the Company sought to procure a good quality of goods for the trade, and that it was quite willing to listen to the advice of its traders, not only as to the items, but also as to the particular types and qualities that appeared attractive. For example, the tobacco which they were sending out did not meet the peculiar taste of the Indians, who preferred the type procured from the French. The Company went to considerable pains to secure suitable brands. The traders were also asked to recommend various types of goods which they thought would be useful in the trade.

During these years the Company sustained some serious losses through bad weather at sea and the depredations of the French. As a result strong efforts were made to keep down expenditure. A letter to Sergeant in 1685 states:

> We take notice what extravigent Allowances our former Governors have given our Servants, as 8 li. flower a man by weeke etc. We have this yeare (and so shall in the future

observe the like method) proportioned to every one in the severall Factories 5 li. flower and 5 li. flesh a man by weeke, which with every ones Industrey to get fresh Provissions of fowle & fish, we Judge sufficient for any reasonable man.

In 1686 there were 56 servants stationed at Albany, Hayes Island (Moose Factory) and Rupert's River. The Company estimated that the necessary establishment for these posts was only 36, and Sergeant was instructed to have the 20 surplus men sent home with all possible speed.

The Company was apparently anxious to explore the interior with a view to extending its trade. In 1682 Bridgar was told to ". . . use your dilligence to Penetrate into the Countrey to make what discoveries you can, and to gett an Acquaintance and Comerce with the Indians thereabts. which wee hope in time may turne to Acct. and answer the greate Charge wee have and may bee att in makeing this settlement." Nixon was also urged to send some men to the interior with surplus goods to use as presents to the Indians to win their goodwill and to induce them to bring their furs to the posts of the Bay.

Life for the servants of the Company at the posts was a hard one, and very different from that to which they had been used in their homeland. The difficulties of navigating the treacherous and ice-filled waters were overcome for the most part through the experience of the English seamen. Even the treacherous river-mouths were responsible for the loss of a very small number of vessels, but it was during the long season between the arrival of the ships and the periods of very slack trade, that life for many was dull. It was fortunate that the natives were on the whole friendly. This was due, as Professor Taylor points out, to the fact "that they were not sensible of any encroachment on their hereditary hunting grounds...." Consequently the trade appeared to the native to be to his advantage as well as that of the white man. The fact that there was no settlement to encroach on his land and drive the game further afield, was also an important factor.

Much help was given to the traders in this period by Radisson and Groseilliers. The confidence which the Company placed in Radisson is shown in the letter to him of May 20th, 1686:

> For our Standard of Trade we leave it wholly to your manidgment as you shall finde occation & reason to bring it downe without loosing the Indians, for Indeed as you yourselfe observe, our charge is so great, our losses many & the fall of beavor here in Europe so considerable daily, that unless there be amends made by your Trading there to greater profitt & a larger Income of Trade, our expence will Devour us, but we have a confidence in your prudent conduct in trading to our best Advantage and in procureing a Trade & in inviteing the great Nations downe who have the best Furrs.

The Company made repeated efforts to have a greater portion of the necessary food supply produced near the forts. They never seemed to realize fully the difficulty of producing anything of value from the soil around the Bay. Professor Taylor thinks that the glowing reports of Gorst in his Journal of 1671 made them over optimistic. She also points out that:

> Another factor militating against experiments in farming under such adverse conditions was the conservatism of the men, and their reluctance to engage in work which did not lie directly within what they deemed to be their province. It was in vain for example that the Committee suggested the making of potashes or of train-oil during the winter months. There seems even to have been passive resistance to any effective winning of the slude or mica occurring on the East Main, or to any such subordinate enterprise. Individuals, of course, were kept busy—the warehousekeeper, the carpenter, the smith—but there was overmuch time for drinking, dicing and card-playing, as to which the officers set no good example.

The Company endeavoured to keep Indian women out of the trading posts, but so long as family life there was impossible they did not have a great deal of success, and there are numerous complaints about "licentious" conduct. Sergeant was instructed in 1673 as follows:

> We are well assured we have been much prejudiced by the entertaineing of Indian women in our Forts and factories for thereby our serveants have not only been debauched but our goods & provissions have been extravagantly spent wherfor in the next place we doe absolutely prohibite you to permitt any such familiaritys as formerly have been and let it be signified to those who are Chief in our respective Factories that they suffer no women to be entertained or admitted into our Forts or houses under the penallty of the forfeiture of their wages.

An attempt was also made to provide religious services. The instructions to Nixon in 1680 stated:

> We do strictly enjoyne you to have publick prayers and reading of the Scriptures or some other religious Books wheresoever you shall be resident, or at least upon the Lords days. As also to order the severall chiefs in each Factory under your command to do the same, That wee who professe to [be] Christians may not appear more barbarous than the poor Heathens themselves who have not been instructed in the knowledge of the true God.

The great difficulty encountered by the Company was the encroachment of the French. In 1682 and again in 1686 there were serious attacks made on the Company's posts and on their ships in the Bay. In spite of protests and petitions to the King for some redress for the loss (reputed to be £60,000) other matters of high policy carried more weight with the King. The Company found it practically impossible to obtain any relief. While these were years of bitter disappointment and very considerable loss, their perseverance in defending the monopoly was eventually to prove successful, for the preservation not only of the trade but of the vast territory of the North-West for the Crown.

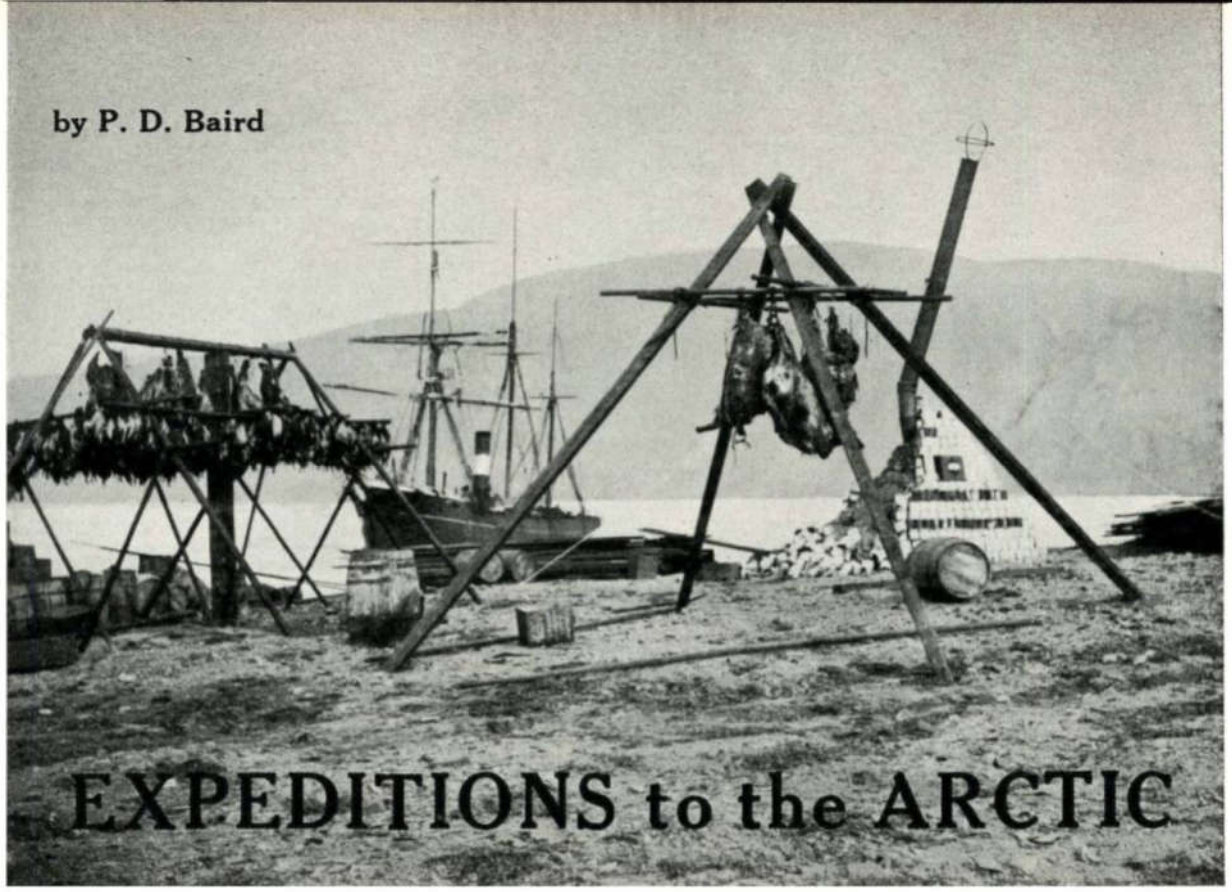
Professor Taylor aptly summarizes the position of the Company in these years:

> While, from the standpoint of our modern knowledge of North America, the virtual sterilization of an enormous part of the continent for generations under the Hudson's Bay Company's Patent strikes us as a strange episode in history, it has its modern parallels in the southern hemisphere . . . . The Englishman expected a landscape always green, while a countryside lacking cultivated fields struck him as a mere wilderness, if not actually a desert. If the stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company indeed represented the North-West as "the most forlorn part of the universe, hitherto discovered" it was not, as their critics suggested, because they wanted to keep it to themselves, but because that was what it appeared to be. Had they been East Europeans, with traditional techniques of forestry and agriculture suited to the types of climate and terrain encountered in North America, the story might have been a different one. Russians would not only have recognized in the prairies another steppe, but would have known how to transform them into a new Ukraine. English colonists whether coming into the cold forest or into the grassland had many new lessons to learn, and ultimately learned them by slow degrees through pioneers advancing from settlements elsewhere which had more in common with the Motherland.

The format of this book is up to the high standard of the earlier volumes, and it is equipped with a very useful index and five reproductions of old maps.

by P. D. Baird

EXPEDITIONS to the ARCTIC



Greely's steamer *Proteus* at Fort Conger, August 1881. On the right is Stephenson's cairn of 1875-6. *G. W. Rice*

The third and last instalment of an article listing the various expeditions to the Canadian Arctic from the year 1004 A.D. This part deals with the period 1860-1918.

THE last instalment of this article brought the history of Canadian Arctic expeditions to the close of the Franklin Search in 1859. The final period we shall consider brings the story down to the first World War. This period saw the great days of whaling, their coastal stations being supplemented by missions, trading companies and police posts—in that order. It witnessed the entry of nations other than Britain into the exploration field: the United States, Norway, and the young nation of Canada itself to prove her sovereignty and investigate the possibilities of development of the region. The first expedition we record is of a lieutenant of Kane who pushed up what became known as the American route to the pole.

Key to Expedition list

Date. Leader of expedition (in capitals). Other important members of party. Names of vessels (if sea-borne) in italics.

O.—Objects of expedition.

R.—Results and important discoveries.

P.—Publications describing the expedition.

General publications:

13. Crouse, N. M., *The Search for the North Pole*, New York, 1947.

14. Mirsky, J., *To the Arctic*, New York, 1948.

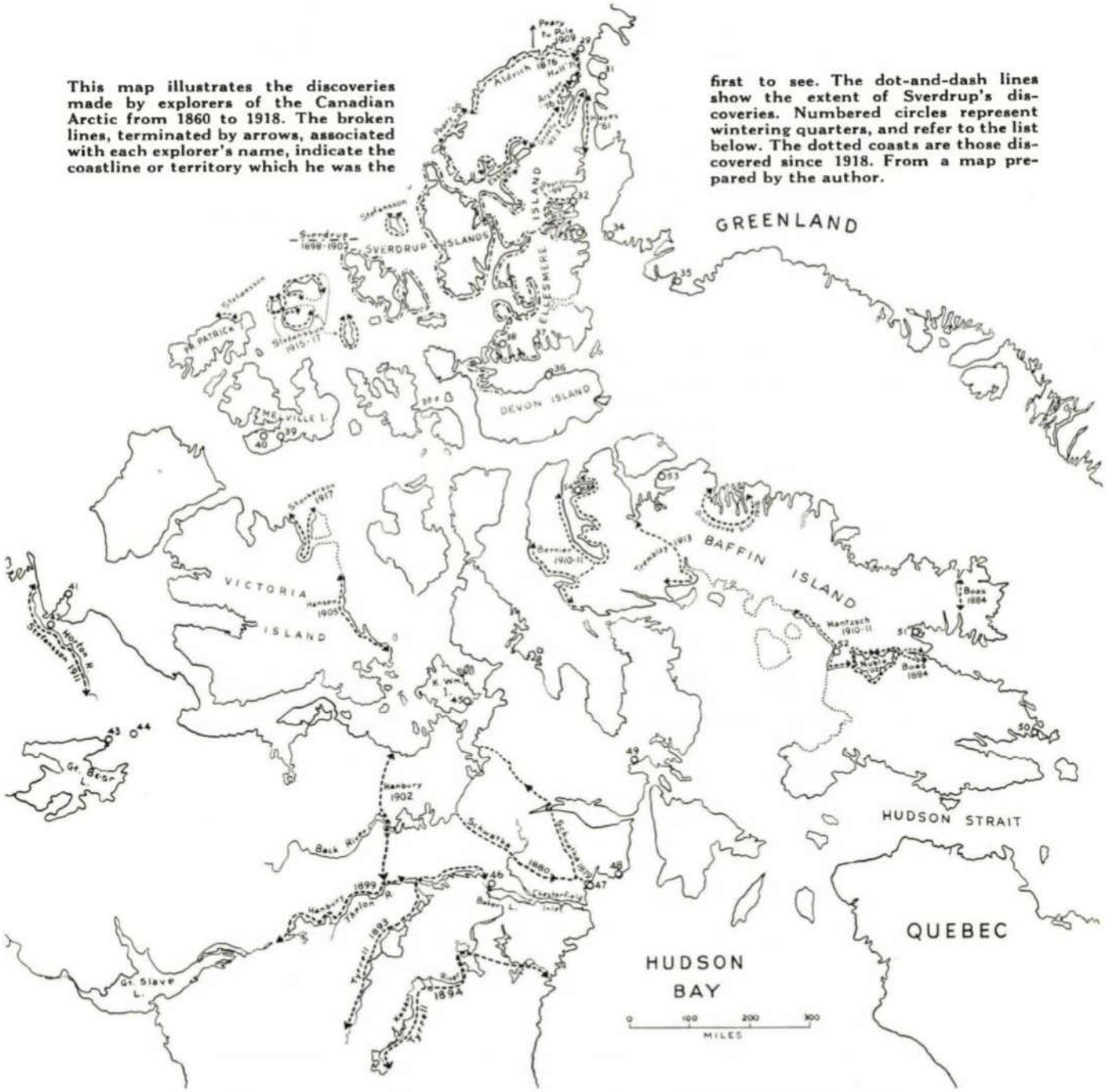
15. Tremblay, A., *The Cruise of the Minnie Maude*. Quebec, 1921 (lists many expeditions).

62. 1860-61—HAYES, Dr. I. I., A. Sonntag (astronomer) (died at w. qtrs.). Schooner *United States* (133 tons).
O.—To reach the Pole via the "Open Polar Sea" he believed to exist.
R.—Meeting ice in Smith Sd. was obliged to winter Foulke Fjord just south of Etah (Greenland shore). Sledge journey up Ellesmere I.; discovered new coast to about 80° 30′. 3 Apr. '61-3 June '61. Returned summer '61 owing to damaged vessel.
P.—Hayes, I. I., *The Open Polar Sea*, London, 1867.

63. 1860-62—HALL, C. F. (first exped.), by whaler to Frobisher Bay.
O.—Search for Franklin records or survivors by way of Foxe Basin and Fury and Hecla Str.
R.—Early loss of expedition boat caused cancellation of main plan. Hall however learned Eskimo travel methods over two winters and made interesting discoveries of Frobisher relics in Frobisher B. Returned via whaler to U.S. Aug. '62 with two Eskimos, who accompanied him in later expeditions.
P.—Hall, C. F., *Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux*, London and N.Y., 1865.

64. 1864-69—HALL, C. F. (second exped.).
O.—Franklin search from base at Repulse Bay.
R.—In whaler to Roe's Welcome Aug. '64 where first winter spent. Winter '65-'66 from Repulse B. reached Committee B. Spring '66-67 and '67-'68 journeys to Igloolik, where filled in gap on coast between Parry's and Rae's explorations. Spring '69 final start for King William I. but again failed to reach it, his natives fearing the people there. Returned by whaler to New England Aug. '69.
P.—Nourse, J. E., *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition by C. F. Hall*, Washington, 1879.

65. 1871-73—HALL, C. F. (third exped.), Capt. S. O. Buddington, G. E. Tyson, U.S.S. *Polaris* (387 tons).
O.—To reach North Pole, backed by U.S. Government.
R.—With this fine steamer got past Kane's winter quarters 3 days after leaving northernmost Danish post. By end Aug. '71 had reached 82° 11′. Wintered Greenland shore 40 miles south of this but Hall died in the fall, spring boat journeys achieved nothing and Buddington set off for south 12 Aug. '72. Soon beset, *Polaris* was drifted to Smith Sound and 15 Aug. separated from



This map illustrates the discoveries made by explorers of the Canadian Arctic from 1860 to 1918. The broken lines, terminated by arrows, associated with each explorer's name, indicate the coastline or territory which he was the first to see. The dot-and-dash lines show the extent of Sverdrup's discoveries. Numbered circles represent wintering quarters, and refer to the list below. The dotted coasts are those discovered since 1918. From a map prepared by the author.

WINTER QUARTERS

29. C. Sheridan	Nares 75-76. Peary 05-06; 08-09.	42. Horton R.	Stefansson 11-12.
30. Ft. Conger*	Stephenson 75-76. Greely 81-83. Peary 00-01.	43. Ft. Confidence	Douglas 11-12.
31. Thank God Hbr.	Hall 71-72.	44. Dease R.	Stefansson 10-11.
32. C. Durville	Peary 98-99.	45. Gjoa Havn	Amundsen 03-05.
33. C. Sabine	Greely 83-84. Sverdrup 98-99. Peary 01-02.	46. Baker Lake	Hanbury 01-02.
34. Etah	Peary 99-00. Cook 07-08. Macmillan 13-17.	47. Depot I.	Schwatka 78-79
35. Thule	Hayes 60-61.	48. Fullerton	Low 03-04.
36. C. Sparbo	Cook 08-09.	49. Repulse B.	Hall 65-69.
37. Havn Fjord	Sverdrup 99-00.	50. Frobisher B.	Hall 60-62.
38. Goose Fjord	Sverdrup 00-02.	51. Kingua	Tyson 77-78. Giese 82-83. Boas 83-84.
39. Winter Hbr.	Bernier 08-09.	52. West Baffin	Hantzsch 10-11.
40. Melville I.	Stefansson 16-17.	53. Pond Inlet	Bernier 06-07; 12-13.
41. C. Parry	Stefansson 09-10.	54. Arctic B.	Bernier 10-11.

*Not numbered on map. It is shown due west of 31.

18 of party on an ice floe and wintered Foulke Fjord. By boats, ship's crew escaped June '73 while ice floe party under Tyson survived winter's drift to Labrador until end Apr. '73 when picked up.

P.—Davis, C. H., *Narrative of N. Polar Expedition U.S.S. Polaris*, London, 1881.

Hall had relied on whaler transportation on his first two expeditions. Many of these were now wintering in Hudson B. and Cumberland Gulf. Whalers discovered many of the harbours on Baffin I.—the strait between Southampton and Coates Is. and between Bylot and Baffin Is. (Adams 1872). The Whaler *Queen* wintered off Devon I. 1865-66 finding Philpotts I. to be insular. In preparation for voyage 66, A. H. Markham took a cruise on board the whaler *Arctic* 1873 described in his account, *A Whaling Cruise to Baffin's Bay*, London, 1874.

66. 1875-76—NARES, Capt. G. S.; Capt. H. F. Stephenson; Cmdr. A. H. Markham; Lieuts. P. Aldrich, L. A. Beaumont. H.M.S. *Alert* (1045 tons), *Discovery* (378 tons).

O.—To reach North Pole. British Admiralty expedition.

R.—Ships reached Lady Franklin B. 25 Aug. '75 where *Discovery* wintered, *Alert* pushing on to C. Sheridan (highest ship's latitude) 1 Sep. Spring sledge journeys (man-hauled): Aldrich N.W. about Ellesmereland to 85° 53′ W., Beaumont N.E. on Greenland to 50° 40′ W., Markham north over ice to 83° 20′ N. (10 May '76). Archer (from *Discovery*) around Lady Franklin Sd. All parties reached base with great difficulty due to outbreak of scurvy which led to withdrawal of expedition 31 July '76.

P.—Nares, G. S., *Voyage to the Polar Sea*, London, 1878. Markham, A. H., *The Great Frozen Sea*, London, 1878.

67. 1875 and 1876—YOUNG, A. *Pandora* yacht.

O.—Private expedition to N. Magnetic Pole and to attempt N.W. passage in a season.

R.—Leaving mail for expedition above at Cary Is. reached Beechey I. 26 Aug. '75, thence down Peel Strait to almost opposite Bellot Str. 1 Sep. Ice prevented further advance so returned home. Next year, 1876, purposes similar but, Admiralty requesting him to communicate with Nares, Young spent all season around Smith Sd.

P.—Young, Sir A., *The Two Voyages of the Pandora*, London, 1879.

68. 1877-78—(HOWGATE) Capt. G. E. Tyson, L. Kumlein (naturalist). *Florence* (56 tons).

O.—Part of planned larger expedition (later cancelled) by Howgate, to collect natives, dogs, etc. from Cumberland Sd.

R.—Tyson wintered Annanatook (Cumberland Sd.) '77-'78 along with other whalers and rendezvous was made in Greenland as ordered but main expedition did not arrive. Kumlein's scientific work was important, however.

P.—Howgate, H. W., *Cruise of the Florence*, Washington, 1879.

69. 1878-80—SCHWATKA, Lieut. F., W. H. Gilder. Overland.

O.—To find Franklin records reported as existing by Netchilik Eskimos.

R.—Reached Chesterfield Inlet by whaler *Eothen* summer '78. By dog team started 1 Ap. '79 and reached King William I. where summer was spent in search. Some relics but no records found. Started back 10 Dec. '79 and after bitterly cold and amazing journey reached Depot I. 4 Mar. '80. Since no ship here continued to Marble I. where whaler was wintering, which returned them to New York.

P.—Gilder, W. H., *Schwatka's Search*, New York and London, 1881.

70. 1881-84—GREELY, Lieut. A. W., Lieut. J. B. Lockwood, Sgt. D. L. Brainard.

O.—U.S. Polar Year expedition to establish meteorological station on Ellesmere I.

R.—Sailing in *Proteus* 8 July '81 were landed in Lady Franklin B. where the 25 men erected Ft. Conger. Scientific observations were carried out for two years and sledge journeys made: Lockwood and Brainard Apr.-June '82 along Greenland to C. Christiansen (incidentally furthest north, 83° 24′); Greely to Lake Hazen '82. Lockwood '83 crossed Ellesmere I. to Greely Fjord. Relief ships not having arrived Greely ordered retreat by boat 10 Aug. '83 and after great difficulty reached C. Sabine 29 Sept. not finding expected ration caches. Party starved all winter and when relief came 22 June '84, only 7 men alive.

P.—Greely, A. W., *Three years of Arctic Service*, New York, 1886. Schley, W. S., *The rescue of Greely*, Washington, 1887.

71. 1882-83—GIESE, W.

O.—German Polar Year Expedition to establish meteorological station on Baffin I.

R.—Sailing in *Germania* were landed in Kingua Fjord, Cumberland Sd. Aug. '82. Meteorological and magnetic observations carried out. Returned Aug. '83.

P.—Abbes, H., *Die deutsche Nord Polar Expedition nach dem Cumberland-Sunde*, Globus, 1884.

72. 1883-84—BOAS, F.

O.—Anthropological expedition Baffin Island.

R.—Taken in to Kingua on *Germania* 1883, Boas occupied quarters of (71). He sledged to Home Bay, Nettilling Lake, and made very fine studies of Eskimo life.

P.—Boas, F., *The Central Eskimo*, U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 6th Ann. Rep., Washington, 1888.

73. 1884-85 and '86—GORDON, Lieut. A. R., Dr. Robert Bell (geologist), J. W. Tyrrell.

O.—Canadian Government expeditions to determine navigation conditions in Hudson Strait and Bay.

R.—Sailing in *Neptune* (see 81) 1884, meteorological observers, who wintered '84-'85 were landed at Port Burwell and five other stations in the strait. The vessel visited Chesterfield Inlet and Port Nelson. Next year in *Alert* (see 66) personnel were picked up. A third voyage in '86 completed soundings at Churchill and Nelson. Gordon reported in favour of Churchill as a port and that navigation season in straits and bay was July-Oct. inclusive.

P.—Gordon, A. R., *Annual Reports* 1884-86, Canadian Government Department of Fisheries.

74. 1893—TYRRELL, J. B., J. W. Tyrrell. By canoe and overland.

O.—Geological Survey expedition to explore unknown interior Keewatin.

R.—Leaving Ft. Chipewyan 21 June '93 travelled by Fond du Lac, Dubawnt R., Aberdeen, Schultz and Baker Lakes (2 Sept.) thence to Churchill. Last few days 15 Oct. had to be covered overland in bitter cold. From Churchill return to Winnipeg overland 6 Nov.-31 Dec.

P.—(1) Tyrrell, J. W., *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada*, Toronto, 1908. (2) Tyrrell, J. B., *Report*. Geological Survey of Canada Annual Report, vol. IX, 1896.

75. 1894—TYRRELL, J. B., R. Munro-Ferguson.

O.—As for 74.

R.—Leaving Cumberland House 4 Jul. '94 travelled by Reindeer Lake, Kazan River to below Yathkyed Lake thence by Ferguson River to Hudson Bay coast to Churchill 10 Oct.; this time reached by sea at the latest possible date. Returned overland by dog team to Winnipeg.

P.—See 74, (2).

76. 1897—WAKEHAM, Cdr. W., Dr. R. Bell, A. P. Low. S.S. *Diana* (473 tons).

Q.—To examine earlier and later navigation Hudson Str.

R.—Made four double traverses of strait earliest starting 22 June and last finishing 30 Oct. Bell on Baffin and Low on Ungava shores examined geology by small boats.

P.—Wakeham, W., *Report of the Expedition . . . in S.S. Diana*, Ottawa, 1898.

77. 1898-1902—SVERDRUP, Capt. O., Lieut. Isachsen, P. Schei, 17 all told in *Fram*.

O.—To explore Northern Greenland. Private Norwegian expedition.

R.—Sailed Norway 24 June '98 but stopped by ice Smith Sd. so wintered C. Sabine not far from Peary (78). Spring '99 two parties crossed Ellesmere, Sverdrup and Bay to Bay Fjord, others over ice cap. In '99 as heavy ice persisted plans were changed to explore to the west, and ship spent next 3 winters in Jones Sd. Spring 1900 Sverdrup to 80° 55′ on W. coast Axel Heiberg. Isachsen to Ringnes I. Spring '01 Sverdrup up Eureka Sd. to N. end Axel Heiberg, Isachsen around

The *Gjoa's* first meeting with whalers after completing the long sought passage from east to west. From the frontispiece in Volume II of Amundsen's *North West Passage* (Constable, 1908).

both Ringnes Is. Spring '02 parties on west Ellesmere, Beechey Island, and N. coast Devon. 8 Aug. '02 sailed for home after these major geographical discoveries.
P.—Sverdrup, O., *New Land*, London, 1904.

78. 1898-02—PEARY, R. E., M. Henson, *Windward* '98-'99, 1900-01,'02.
O.—Exploration of North Greenland and attainment of Pole.
R.—Peary had already made 3 expeditions to Greenland and proved himself as a traveller. Stopped by same ice as Sverdrup (77) he wintered off C. Durville (Ellesmere) '98-'99. Sledge trip Dec.-Jan. to Fort Conger on which he froze feet, losing all save little toes. Wintered '99-'00 Etah Greenland, reached Ft. Conger again 28 Mar. '00 and then up Greenland Coast to around northernmost point Ap.-June. Summer and winter '00-'01 at Ft. Conger but neither men nor dogs fit for North Pole journey in '01 so withdrew to C. Sabine. From here in '02 made highest latitude in American sector to date 84° 17′ north of Ellesmere Mar. 6-May 17. Returned to United States on *Windward* Aug. '02.
P.—Peary, R., "Four years Arctic Exploration," Geog. Journ., vol. 22, Dec. 1903.

79. 1899 and 1901-02—HANBURY, D. T. By sled and canoe.
O.—Exploration of interior Keewatin and to examine reported copper at Bathurst Inlet.
R.—On first journey to Baker L. from Winnipeg by dog team 1899 thence in summer up Thelon R. to Great Slave L. In 1901 reversed this route to Chesterfield Inlet and wintered with natives at Baker L. Mar. '02 started west and from Tibielik Lake north across new country to Arctic coast 14 May. Reached Coppermine 19 July by canoe after sledge travel gave out, thence to Ft. Confidence and Edmonton, Dec. '02.
P.—Hanbury, D. T., *Sport and Travel in the Northland of Canada*, London, 1904.

80. 1902—NOBLE, C. By whale boat.
Q.—To examine L. Nettilling reached by Boas (72).
R.—From his permanent whaling station of Kekerton, Cumberland Gulf, he travelled with natives up to and around the entire lake summer 1902.
P.—Account in *Southern Baffin Island*, Ottawa (N.W.T.), 1930.

81. 1903-04—LOW, A. P. *Neptune* (465 tons).
O.—Canadian Government expedition to establish sovereignty and collect whaling dues.
R.—Sailed Halifax Aug. '03 to Cumberland Sd. whaling stations, thence to Chesterfield Inlet, where wintered. Police post built (Fullerton). Sailed 18 July '04 to Ellesmere Land. Other landings made Beechey I., Port Leopold, Ponds Inlet, back to Fullerton Sep. '03, thence returned home. Next year the *Arctic* under Capt. Bernier wintered at Fullerton '04-'05.
P.—Low, A. P., *Cruise of the Neptune*, Ottawa, 1906.

82. 1903-06—AMUNDSEN, R., Lieut. G. Hansen. *Gjoa* (74 tons.) Total crew, 7.
O.—N.W. Passage and magnetic observations.
R.—Sailed Norway 16 June '03, reached Beechey I. 22 Aug, thence down Peel Sd. and east about King William Island, where nearly wrecked on shoals. Reached Gjoahavn 8 Sep. and spent two winters there making magnetic observations Apr.-June '05. Hansen sledged up E. coast Victoria I. to 72° N. 13 Aug. '05 resumed navigation but stopped at King Pt., Y.T., by ice and forced to spend third winter. In Aug. '06 reached Nome, thus completing first N.W. passage by sea.
P.—Amundsen, R., *The Northwest Passage*, London and New York, 1908.

83. 1905-06—PEARY, R. E. (second Canadian exped.), Capt. R. Bartlett, M. Henson. S.S. *Roosevelt* (1500 tons).
O.—Attainment of North Pole.
R.—Sailed New York 16 July '05 and picking up Eskimo assistants at Etah reached C. Sheridan 5 Sept after a great ice fight. Polar journey with 5 supporting parties began March. Big lead at 84°30′ and gale which carried them east after crossing it wrecked main plan but Peary and Henson reached 87° 6′ (highest latitude) 21 Apr. Retreat was to Greenland shore where shooting some musk-ox saved party from starvation. After only a week at ship Peary started 2 June '06 and completed survey of N. Ellesmere to Axel Heiberg Land, whence he believed he saw "Crocker Land" to N.W. Reached ship again 30 July. Meanwhile *Roosevelt* had been much damaged but was sailed back successfully by Bartlett reaching Sydney, N.S., 23 Nov. '06.
P.—Peary, R. E., *Nearest the Pole*, New York, 1907.

84. 1906-07—BERNIER, Capt. J. E., (first voyage but see 81), O. J. Morin. C.G.S. *Arctic* (650 tons).
O.—Dominion Govt. expedition to establish sovereignty, etc.
R.—Sailed Quebec 28 Jul '06, reached Pond Inlet 19 Aug. Landings made Bylot I., Port Leopold, Griffiths, Cornwallis, Bathurst, Byam Martin, Melville, Lowther, Russell and Beechey Is. Penetrated Admiralty Inlet (Sep.) to 71° 12′, wintered Albert Harbour, Pond Inlet. Sledge journey Feb.-Mar. '07 to head of Milne Inlet. Summer '07 entered Prince Regent Inlet but turned back 6 Aug. at C. Kater. Returned visiting Cumberland Gulf.
P.—Bernier, J. E., *Report on the Dom. Govt. Expend . . . on board the C.G.S. "Arctic,"* Ottawa, 1909.

85. 1907-09—COOK, Dr. F.
O.—Attainment of North Pole.
R.—Reached Etah by sea 1907 where Eskimo assistants engaged. Started 19 Feb. '08 on Polar journey via Eureka Sound. With two Eskimo companions started north from Axel Heiberg 18 Mar. '08 and reached land again Ringnes Is. June. Cook claims that in this time he had reached the Pole but is now not generally believed. Summer and early winter '08 were spent on north coast Devon I. whence Etah was reached Mar. '09. Returned by Danish ship to Copenhagen shortly before Peary (86) returned with *his* story of a successful Polar journey.
P.—Cook, F. A., *My Attainment of the Pole*, New York, 1911.

86. 1908-09—PEARY, R. E., (third Canadian exped.) Capt. R. Bartlett, M. Henson, D. B. Macmillan, S.S. *Roosevelt*.
O.—Attainment of North Pole.
R.—Sailed New York 6 July '08, reaching Etah 18 Aug., when most of settlement engaged as assistants. Roosevelt went into winter quarters at C. Sheridan again 5 Sep. C. Columbia selected as jumping off place for Polar effort was built up as a depot in the fall. 28 Feb. '09 Polar divisions left C. Columbia, 20 men, 19 sleds and 133 dogs. Bartlett the last supporting division turned back at 87° 50′ and Peary, Henson and 4 Eskimo went on to neighbourhood of Pole 6 Apr. '09 returning in 22 marches. Peary's lifelong ambition was thus achieved. *Roosevelt* broke out 18 July and reached Labrador to inform the world 5 Sep. '09.
P.—Peary, R. E., *The North Pole*, New York, 1910.

87. 1908-12—STEFANSSON, V.—(first exped.), R. M. Anderson.

O.—Anthropological and biological study of Western Arctic.
R.—Stefansson had previously wintered in Mackenzie region but this expedition was his first of major discovery. Starting down Mackenzie four years were spent by the two scientists travelling from Pt. Barrow to Victoria I. Winters were spent '08-'09 Alaska, '09-'10 C. Parry region, '10-'11 upper Dease R., '11-'12 Lower Horton R., which was first fully traced. Coronation Gulf Eskimo studied for first time. Both men returned via Bering Str. by sea 1912.
P.—Stefansson, V., *My Life with the Eskimo*, New York, 1913.

88. 1908-09—BERNIER, Capt. J. E. (second voyage), O. J. Morin, J. G. McMillan. C.G.S. *Arctic*.
O.—As for 84.
R.—Left Quebec 28 July, '08 via Etah to Melville I. Wintered at Parry's Winter Harbour. Three sledge journeys by Morin (twice) and Green to Banks I., where *Investigator's* winter quarters examined. 3 Aug. '09 blown out of harbour with ice and after rounding Byam Martin I. on the north sailed home.
P.—Bernier, J. E., *Report on the Dom. of Can. Expedn . . . on board the D.G.S. "Arctic,"* Ottawa, 1910.

89. 1909-11—HANTZSCH, B.A.
O.—Mapping of West Baffin Island and ornithology.
R.—Most of the supplies lost by shipwreck in Cumberland Gulf Sep. '09. Wintered Blacklead I. and started west with natives Apr. '10. Summer spent around L. Nettilling then on by boat and reached Foxe Basin 20 Sep. On north by sled, wintering 100 miles north with great scarcity of food. On again 16 Apr. '11. 120 miles, but Hantzsch became ill and died early June.
P.—Millward, A. E., in *Southern Baffin Island*, Ottawa (N.W.T.), 1930.

90. 1910-11—BERNIER, Capt. J. E. (Third voyage) J. T. Lavoie, O. J. Morin, A. Tremblay, R. Janes. C.G.S. *Arctic*.
O.—To traverse N.W. passage by M'Clure Strait.
R.—Sailed Quebec 7 July '10 to Winter Harbour 31 Aug. Turned back by ice in McClure Str. 2 Sept. '10 and wintered Arctic B. Sledge trip by Lavoie to Fury and Hecla Strait and Agu Oct.-Nov. '10 and later March '11 to remaining unexplored stretch of N.W. Baffin coast. Sailed again 20 July '11 trying to return by Fury and Hecla Strait but turned back by ice in Pr. Regent Inlet. Reached Quebec 25 Sep. '11.
P.—Bernier, J. E., *Report on Dom. Govt. Expedn. to . . . Arctic Archipelago . . . 1910*, Ottawa, n.d.

91. 1911-12—DOUGLAS, G. M.
O.—To investigate Coppermine Mountains.
R.—Left Edmonton 11 May '11 and Ft. Norman 8 July with large boat, Ft. Confidence 24 July (winter quarters) and Coppermine River 17 Aug. for ten days stay. In late spring 1912 traversed area south of Dismal Lakes thence by pack to Coppermine and its mouth early June. Returned July 12 via Mackenzie.
P.—Douglas, G. M., *Lands Forlorn*, New York, 1914.

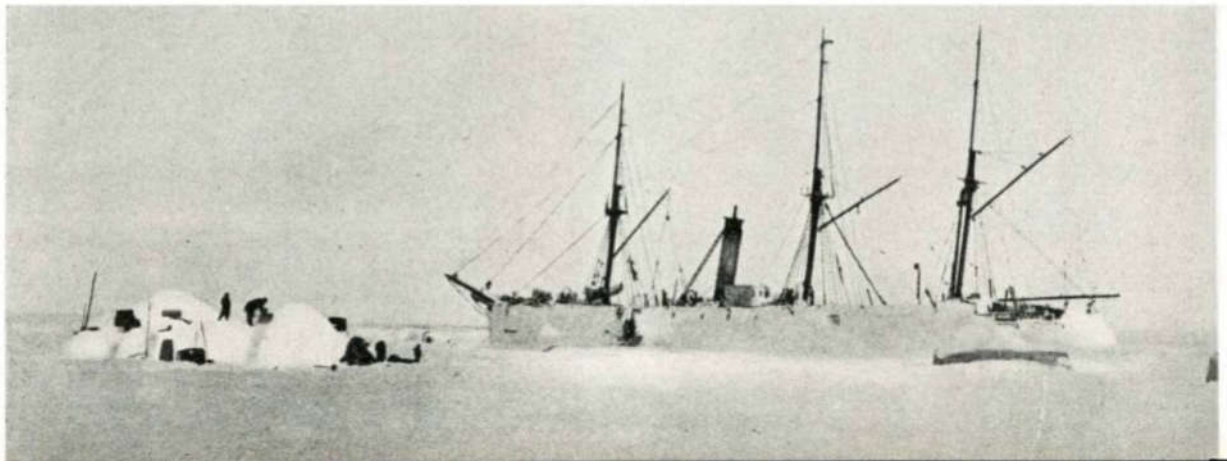
92. 1912-13—BERNIER, Capt. J. E. (Fourth voyage), A. Tremblay, *Minnie Maud* Schooner.
O.—To look for gold reported by R. Janes (on 90).
R.—One of three vessels which sailed to Pond Inlet this year, none of which found any gold but a fine overland journey by Tremblay was made to Igloolik.
P.—15.

93. 1913-17—MACMILLAN, D. B., W. E. Ekblaw.
O.—To explore Peary's Crocker Land.
R.—Owing to shipwreck had to transfer vessels at Belle Isle and reached north late so were landed at Etah 29 Aug. '13. Spring journeys: 1914 Macmillan to north of Axel Heiberg, then 150 miles N.W. (24 Apr.) but no sign of Crocker Land; 1915 Ekblaw to Greely Fjord (Borup and Tanqueray inlets explored), thence return via L. Hazen; 1916 Macmillan to K. Christian I. (22 Apr.) 1917 along S.E. coast Ellesmere. Several supply ships to the expedition were frozen in at Thule with incompetents aboard and Capt. Bartlett in *Neptune* finally relieved expedition in 1917.
P.—Macmillan, D. B., *Four years in the White North*, New York, 1918.

94. 1913-18—STEFANSSON, V. (Second exped.), R. M. Anderson, O. Andreason, Capt. R. Bartlett, D. Jenness, G. H. Wilkins, J. J. O'Neill, S. Storkerson. *Karluk* 250 tons, and other vessels.
O.—Backed by Canadian Government for geographical and scientific discovery in Western Arctic.
R.—Sailing via Bering Str., *Karluk* was caught in ice of Pt. Barrow 13 Aug., drifted N.W. and sank 14 Jan., 100 miles from Wrangell I. Most of party reached here and Bartlett after fine journey to Siberia effected rescue. Meanwhile Stefansson made 96 day journey on sea ice of Beaufort Sea to Banks I. and after spending summer was joined by Wilkins with relief vessel. During following three years, long self-supporting sledge journeys were made resulting in tracing of new islands Borden, Meighen and Lougheed. Wintered 1916-17 on Melville I. Storkerson traversed N. coast of Victoria I. fall '15 and summer '17 and made journey on Beaufort Sea lasting from 15 Mar.-8 Nov. 1918. Anderson and southern party made exhaustive scientific investigations of mainland coast to Coronation Gulf.
P.—1, Stefansson, V., *The Friendly Arctic*, New York, 1921 and subs. 2, *Canadian Arctic Expedition Reports*, 15 vols. Ottawa (var. dates). 3, Bartlett R. and Hale, R., *Northward Ho!* Boston, 1916.

Since the first World War too many parties have visited our region for this catalogue to be continued. Permanent settlements have sprung up, many individuals or scientific parties have continued to narrow the unknown areas. The remaining unknown coast of W. Baffin has been filled in, and now aerial photography is completing the discovery work, finding new straits and bays, and even large islands in Foxe Basin (1948). The fifth Thule expedition led by K. Rasmussen 1921-24 was particularly important in its ethnographic results. T. H. Manning was the one mainly responsible for the completion of the Foxe Basin survey. Finally in 1944 the R.C.M.P. schooner *St. Roch* under command of Inspector H. A. Larsen completed the navigation of the North West Passage in a single season from Atlantic to Pacific. Now modern icebreakers and four engined aircraft, all equipped with radio, operate freely where the early voyagers toiled with sail and sledge out of touch with the world and with nothing to depend on but their own resourcefulness. Those of us who carry out research now in these regions are inspired by and must honour the men whose names occur in this short history.

The Canadian Government steamer *Neptune* in winter quarters, 1903-4. (See expedition 81.)



BOOK REVIEWS

THE MACKENZIE, by Leslie Roberts. (Rivers of America Series.) Clark, Irwin, Toronto, and Rinehart, New York, 1949. 276 pages.

I WAS most intrigued when I heard that a book had been written about the Mackenzie River, and immediately set about getting a copy. I was disappointed with it for several reasons, the chief one being that there is so little about the Mackenzie.

Mr. Roberts' first-hand acquaintance with the river is apparently limited to three air trips to Great Bear Lake or Aklavik, which is entirely insufficient to absorb the real atmosphere of this great stream. The book is really a sketchy attempt to tell the story of the whole Canadian Northwest. It includes: a summary of expeditions in search of the northwest passage from all quarters, not only those via the Mackenzie; a summary of fur trade history in the entire territory of Rupert's Land as well as in the Mackenzie valley; and even the history of the Selkirk Settlement, Riel Rebellion, etc. The inclusion of such ramblings, in a book with this title, is hard to understand, unless it is to occupy space and make up for lack of knowledge of the alleged subject.

The Mackenzie deals in considerable detail with the development of aviation in the North, but again largely covers the entire Northwest, including, for example, the Burwash Expedition to King William Land. Much space is given to the discovery and development of the Eldorado Mine at Great Bear Lake, and the building of the North-west Staging Route and Alaska Highway. All these are interesting stories and often well told; but about the river itself, its topography, the forts which line its banks, the vessels which ply its waters, and the people who live there (to read about which we bought the book) we are treated to the most meagre descriptions.

The author must have run afoul of the Hudson's Bay Company somewhere along the line, because most of his references to it are downright derogatory and obviously prejudiced. He apparently belongs to that naive group who believes the price of rifles in the North was beaver skins piled to the height of the muzzle from the ground. Referring to the elimination of spirits from Company trade stocks in the North, he says; "The purpose certainly was not to raise the standards of living or the literacy level of the native, nor to indulge in broad humanitarian projects. There are plenty of items in the record to attest the lack of interest in the education of the native or efforts to Christianize him." This is only one of many statements which betray his ignorance of fur-trade history.

The statement is made time and again that the H B C resented the opening up of the country, resented the prospecting and mining, resented the coming of air travel. How much they resent the mining may be judged from the million dollar annual business they do at Yellowknife. And to show how much they disliked air travel they sent this reviewer by air with "Punch" Dickins from Edmonton to Coppermine (at $4,000 for the charter) as early as 1930. This was the first purely commercial aeroplane flight ever made to the Canadian Arctic Coast in winter. In 1931 another flight was made from Coppermine to Walker Bay, the farthest north commercial flight up to that time, with Pilot Bill Spence, one of the greatest of the pioneers of northern flying—not even mentioned in Author Roberts' account of Arctic aviation.

To anyone hoping for anything like a complete and factual story of the Mackenzie River, the book will be a disappointment, as will also the virtual elimination of anything to do with the current fur trade—which is still the basis of most of the activity over ninety-five percent of the river's 1,200-odd miles. The maps are poor, but the illustrations by Thoreau MacDonald are excellent. The style of the writing is slangy and sensational, of a type often better suited to the tabloid press than the Rivers of America series. But at least it will warn the reader not to take Mr. Roberts too seriously.—*R. H. G. Bonnycastle.*

UP THE COLUMBIA FOR FURS, by Cecil Dryden. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1949. 309 pages.

LETTERS OF DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN, 1829-32, by Burt Brown Barker. Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Ore., 1949. 365 pages.

HERE are two books that will appeal to all who have become interested in that most fascinating of all the stories in North American history—the story of the fur traders in the far west. In Miss Dryden's book, *Up the Columbia for Furs*, the journals of two of these fur traders have been edited and prepared for popular presentation. Together they make a running account of the day-to-day existence of those adventurers who went out among the Kootenais, the Shoshones, the "She Waps," the Blackfeet and the Flathead Indians, to seek the furs of the rich Columbia valley. Ross Cox was a clerk in the employ of John Jacob Astor, and came to the Columbia in 1812. In the service of the Pacific Fur Company, and later of the Canadian company of Nor' Westers, Cox spent some five years at various posts from Astoria to Fort Spokane. His journal is somewhat of a disappointment to the historian searching for a contemporary's reaction to the important events of 1812 when the Nor' Westers obtained their short-lived monopoly of the Columbia fur trade. It may be that Cox's accounts of the sale of Astoria, and his reactions to it, are the "parts of lesser interest to the modern reader" which Miss Dryden has omitted. If so, it is perhaps unfortunate. On the other hand there is a great deal of information about fur-trading methods, about Indian customs, and about the hair-raising escapades which seemed to form the daily routine of the trader. Some of it is obviously exaggerated—in many ways Cox must have been a naive young man—but even the exaggeration is attractive.

The second half of the book presents the journal of Alexander Ross, a veteran of the fur trade both on the Columbia and at Red River. Like some others, Ross served first under Astor's Pacific Fur Company, then for the Nor' Westers, and then for the Hudson's Bay Company after the merger of 1821. The period covered by this journal is the period of the Nor' Wester supremacy on the Columbia, 1814 to 1821.

In many ways it is more valuable than Cox's journal. Many of the men who played a significant role in the history of the Pacific northwest appear in its pages—men such as Donald McKenzie, William Kittson and many others. And while the incidents recounted are perhaps less exciting than those experienced by Cox, they are probably more authentic.

Put together, and edited as they are, the two journals make a volume which will have a great appeal to a youthful reader. In fact, this reviewer experienced difficulty in getting the book back from the younger members of his family in order to do this review.

The second book is a collection of *Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 1829-1832*. For the historian at least, this is a much more significant work. Its editor, Dr. Burt Brown Barker, is a former president of the Oregon Historical Society, a contributor to various journals, and a well known student of Pacific northwest history. The letters which are here presented were written during the years 1829 to 1832 at Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay headquarters on the Columbia, by the most famous and certainly the most influential of Company officials in the Columbia region.

The letters were copied into a letter book at the fort—in many cases by McLoughlin himself. The book itself was lost, and re-appeared only in 1940, when Dr. Barker purchased it from its owner in Michigan. Of the 280 letters which were copied into the book, some were obviously not sent—there are ninety of which no originals are to be found in the Hudson's Bay archives in London—while many were edited and improved before being despatched. The whole series is invaluable, not only as a memoir of McLoughlin himself, but as additional evidence of the nature of the company's business in the Oregon country. No detail is too small for McLoughlin's interest. From directions as to the planting of seeds, to instructions regulating the exchange value of beaver pelts; from negotiations for the purchase of a new ship, to settlement of a dispute over the exclusive rights over an Indian woman—all came under the eye and order of "Dr. John."

The letters are rich in information concerning the trade in the whole region from Fort Simpson in the north to Fort Vancouver in the south, and inland as far as Kootenay Fort. Trade relations with the Russians, with the Spanish, with the Hawaiian Islands, and with the parent body in London, are all considered in the letters.

It is a relief to find that the letters are in most cases presented with but the minimum of notes and explanation, all collected conveniently in an appendix following the letters themselves. There is, too, a short but useful appendix of essential information about the hundreds of individuals who appear in the letters.

This is a book which the historian will welcome as a very real contribution to the body of information about fur trade days in the west. At the same time, it is a book which should have considerable interest to the public—at least in the region where people still refer to Dr. John McLoughlin as the "Father of Oregon."—*J. H. Stewart Reid.*

OUR ALASKAN WINTER, by Constance and Harmon Helmericks. McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1949.

OUR Alaskan Winter deals with the further adventures of Connie and Bud Helmericks on the Alaskan Coast. It is a strangely realistic story that might have been told by some of the early beachcombers who drifted in from Alaska to settle on the Canadian Arctic coast after the collapse of the whaling industry.

These modern counterparts of the early stragglers lived the hard way. Without completely understanding the mentality of the natives, they elected to lead a similar life, sharing their food and misfortunes, their damp, primitive dwelling of driftwood, noting their improvidence, and filled with pity, listening to the racking cough of the sick. Even the Helmericks, these suffering sightseers, note the apathy and appalling indifference, even the inability, of the average Alaskan native to live comfortably in his own country.

Readers who are familiar with the conditions under which Canadian Eskimos live will shudder at the thought of these cheerless driftwood houses on the windblown sandspits. The narrative is well and frankly told, in an original blending of first and third person narration. There are some vivid descriptions of the country, with character sketches that make the reader live with them through their many and varied experiences. Bud candidly admits that he is just finding things out for himself, therefore it is refreshing to walk inland with him, listening to his opinions.

It takes Bud exactly one hundred and fifteen pages of writing to realize the remarkable stamina of even the seemingly degenerate native when he writes, "Absorbed in his own dreams, Ook-sook gradually drew ahead of the dogs and disappeared in the gathering gloom of night, leaving Connie and me alone on the prairie trying to make the team go." How often have we experienced that feeling of physical inferiority, as, sitting on the sled in the darkness, one felt that the native was taking an unfair advantage when he was actually stepping into a breach.

The final chapter, told after an exciting voyage along the coast in a home-made boat, is unfortunate in its description of Aklavik, one of the most important trading centres in the Canadian Arctic. Temporarily frustrated in their anxiety to reach civilization, they commence a polite tirade against established authority, even to the extent of questioning the knowledge of Mounted Police personnel on Arctic conditions. On the muddy sidewalks of this settlement they are besieged by Alaskan natives, now regarded as Canadian citizens, who have deserted their own barren coastline to live in comparative comfort among the fleshpots of the Mackenzie Delta.

When the Helmericks return to write another book they will perhaps describe the Canadian Arctic as a vast country wherein law and order prevails, lived in by a hardy race who have gained the respect and gratitude of many white men who have already shared their well-ordered lives. And they may by then have learnt that there is an efficient administration which supervises native health and welfare, and a trading company whose servants pioneered the Arctic many years ago and built up a well-knit system of supervision and welfare that will not permit of the appalling conditions they may have encountered in their previous travels.—*A. Copland.*

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